

John Carter Brown
Library
Brown University

Informal Exhibition Catalogues
from the John Carter Brown Library
1989 - 1995

John Carter Brown Library

Providence, Rhode Island

1995

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(January - June 1989)

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THIS IS MY BOOK

The JCB Provenance Exhibit



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John Carter Brown Library

Providence, R.I.

1989

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY is an independently funded and administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to ca. 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, facsimiles, and other works that interpret the Library's holdings. For further information about the Library and its various programs, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912

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To the reader and viewer

This exhibition tells several stories. First, there is the story of the growth of the John Carter Brown Library collection, told in part. Second, there are the stories about the wanderings of individual books. And third, there are the stories about the lives of the former owners.

The Library has been growing steadily, sometimes attaining new heights through the unexpected acquisition of a large number of books from another collection, at other times filling a large gap by being given or buying a single important work.

There is a great deal of evidence that books have lives of their own. They may show traces of having floated in the water, or they may provide a link between long-lost neighbors and countrymen. Some books one feels sorry for, because they obviously have been mistreated and are crippled. Others virtually cry out to be touched, since their calf bindings need the oil of a human hand. Looking at a group of volumes can be like a historical fashion show of the book. The body of the book is beautifully gowned by a one-of-a-kind binding, which varies greatly according to the owner's taste and the preferred materials and decorations of the period. One can occasionally detect minor operations on the inner part of the book, such as patches of cancel slips, and marginal manuscript additions and corrections.

Books, of course, have many uses. To name just a few, they educate, entertain, assist you with your tasks (a navigation manual, for instance), and improve the appearance of your home. Authors at times use copies of their works to communicate with other authors. Book collectors leave their marks on books, which tell about their interests, means, habits, and handwriting. There are numerous ways of indicating ownership, most of them highly personalized. They leave a variety of clues pertaining to the personality, the imagination, and even the values (expressed, for instance, in a motto) of a book owner.

There are mysteries to be unveiled, such as the meaning of Christopher Columbus's signature, or the forgery of a book-plate.

This exhibition offers glimpses into the lives of book lovers of all ages, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century, from Europe as well as the Americas, and including Sunday-school children, royalty, and prisoners of war.

These are all people whose lives have not quite ended, because they owned, marked, and passed on their books.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Case 1: "From the Collection of ..."

1. WHITE KENNETT, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH (1660-1728)

Edward Marston, b. 1659. *To the most noble Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort.* London, 1712.

White Kennett had a reputation as a historian and antiquarian. He compiled the earliest bibliography relating exclusively to America published in English: *Bibliothecae Americanae primordia.* London, 1713 [i.e. 1714], which was published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Kennett's bibliography served as a guide to John Carter Brown in the development of his own collection, and over the years the Library actually acquired several books owned by White Kennett, such as this title.

2. SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS (1792-1872)

Declaracion de el quadrante, divicion y partycyon de las rentas ecleciasticas. Mexico, ca. 1700?

Phillipps was an antiquary and bibliophile. From his earliest years he developed a passion for collecting books and manuscripts, and he remained an insatiable collector all his life. In 1836 he bought part of the library of Richard Heber (1773-1833), another British book collector. The Library owns a number of valuable manuscripts that were formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

3. AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX (1773-1843)

Torquato Tasso, 1544-1595. *Gierusalemme liberata, poema heroico.* Ferrara, 1585.

The sixth son of George III, Augustus Frederick was educated at Göttingen University. In 1830 he became

president of the Royal Society. In this capacity he gave brilliant receptions, but the expenses incurred induced him to resign the presidency. He preferred to use the money to make additions to his library. The Duke owned 50,000 volumes, including many Aldine editions. A small portion of the collection was acquired by John Carter Brown during the decade after the Duke's death.

4. HENRI TERNAUX-COMPANS (1807-1864)

Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, 1559-1615. *Elogios en loor de los tres famosos varones don Iayme Rey de Aragon.* Saragossa, 1601.

Ternaux-Compans was a French bibliographer and scholar. He collected books and manuscripts relating to the early history of America and is generally considered the first collector of Hispanic Americana. In 1837 he published his *Bibliothèque Américaine.* The chief part of the Ternaux library was purchased by Henry Stevens and sold by him to John Carter Brown between 1845 and 1847.

5. SERGEI ALEKSANDROVICH SOBOLEVSKI (1803-1870)

Antonio de León Pinelo, d. 1660. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica.* Madrid, 1629.

Sobolevski was a noted Russian collector who was particularly interested in accounts of voyages, including the collections by De Bry. Sobolevski's library was sold in Leipzig in 1873, and John Carter Brown was able to buy a fairly good portion of it. This copy is signed by the author, León Pinelo.

6. GEORGE BRINLEY (1817-1875)

John Eliot, 1604-1690. *The harmony of the gospels.* Boston, 1678.

* * * This is My Book * * *

The American collector George Brinley brought together a splendid collection of Americana in the course of thirty years. He bought a number of books from Henry Stevens that had been refused by John Carter Brown and James Lenox. New Englanders used to send their attic books to the paper mills, where Brinley acquired many valuable items before they were pulped. Between 1879 and 1893, Brinley's library was sold in a series of five auctions, which has been referred to as the first great booksale in America. Some of the striking rarities are now in the John Carter Brown Library.

7. HENRY CRUSE MURPHY (1810-1882)
NICHOLAS GARRY (1781?-1856)

Louis Hennepin, 17th cent. *A new discovery of a vast country in America.* London, 1699.

Murphy, whose autograph is shown here, was a lawyer and a politician. He accumulated an extensive scholarly library, which was auctioned in 1884. During this auction the bids were unexpectedly "careful." Among those to profit from this "bargain-basement" event was the John Carter Brown Library. Also displayed is the book-plate of Nicholas Garry (1781?-1856), who was Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822 to 1835.

8. SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL BARLOW (1826-1889)
HENRY HARRISSE (1829-1910)

Martin Waldseemüller, 1470-1521? *Cosmographia introductio.* Lyons, 1517?

This work contains the book-plates of both Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow and Henry Harrisse. Barlow was a wealthy lawyer, who has been described as a shrewd bon vivant. After he met the bibliographer Harrisse in 1863, he became seriously committed to collecting Americana. Harrisse was a

Frenchman who lived in America from 1860 to 1870. In 1866 Barlow financed the publication of Harrisse's much respected *Bibliotheca Americana vetustissima.* The Barlow Sale in 1890 brought a very satisfactory return.

9. NICOLAS LEON (1859-1929)

Catholic Church. Liturgy and ritual. Special offices. Antoninus, Saint. *Die X. Maii. Officium in festo S. Antonini.* Mexico, ca. 1685.

Dr. Nicolás León was a prolific bibliographer from Mérida, Yucatan. Just before taking up his duties as the Brown family librarian, George Parker Winship traveled to the southwest and came to know Dr. León. It was through León, during the next forty years, that some of the Library's most important Latin American material was to come. In 1930 the Library purchased a group of thirty titles, formerly part of the private collection of León. Nicolás León was very knowledgeable, though not infallible. More than once he attributed works to the wrong author.

10. JOHN SCOTT (1830-1903)

John Hamilton Belhaven, 2nd baron, 1656-1708. *A defence of the Scots settlement at Darien.* Edinburgh, 1699.

John Scott, of Edinburgh, formed an outstanding collection of material on the Scots' Darien Company, and his bibliography on the subject is still the standard work. George Parker Winship's decision to acquire a substantial portion of the Scott collection in 1906 immediately placed the Library in the forefront of the field.

11. LUIS MONTT (1848-1909)

Antonio Garriga, 1662-1733. *Instruccion practica para ordenar santamente la vida.* Loreto, 1713.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Don Luis Montt of Santiago de Chile used his and his wife Clotilde's portrait as a mark of ownership in his books. The Library acquired, in 1909, some three hundred titles from his collection, many of them Lima and Buenos Aires imprints, and a number of them Indian linguistic material.

12. ALFRED HENRY HUTH (1850-1910)

Brasilische gelt-sack. Amsterdam?, 1647.

British merchant-banker Henry Huth (1815-1878) formed a library rich in travel accounts and early English, Spanish, and German works. His son Alfred Henry Huth inherited and added to the collection. In 1879 John Nicholas Brown (1861-1900) visited the Huth Library with his mother. A fair number of books found their way to Providence after the Huth auction in 1912.

13. CHARLES ROBERTS (1846-1902)

Samuel Young, fl. 1697. *The duckers duck'd, and duck'd again, head, and ears, and all over.* London, 1700.

Charles Roberts of Philadelphia was a collector of noteworthy Quakeriana. The Library bought some 170 items at the Roberts Sale in 1918.

14. HAROLD STEIN JANTZ (1907-1987)
LADISLAUS, REICHSGRAF VON KOLLONITZ (1736-1817)

Jacob August Franckenstein, 1689-1733. *Unmassgebliche Gedanken über das Emigrations-Recht.* Leipzig, 1734.

Harold Jantz was an eminent Germanist and an avid collector. He was especially interested in early German literature and in German-American literary relations. The Library acquired many books from him over the years. In 1962 specifically a significant assortment of Americana was

offered and purchased. The copy of Franckenstein's work on display is one of many of the Library's books with a pedigree. It was previously owned by Ladislaus, Reichsgraf von Kollonitz, who had several bishoprics and archbishoprics.

15. THOMAS WINTHROP STREETER (1883-1965)

Jacob Green, 1722-1790. *A sermon delivered at Hanover, (in New Jersey) April 22d, 1778. Being the day of public fasting and prayer throughout the United States of America.* Chatham, N.J., 1779.

Thomas Streeter, lawyer and businessman, collector and bibliographer, is listed among the major benefactors of the Library. He was the Chairman of the Associates from 1949 to 1952. Streeter's celebrated collection of Americana was described in seven catalogues and dispersed at auction between 1966 and 1969.

16. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING (1915-1986)
J. H. WIDGER.

The American coast pilot ...Twenty-first edition. New York: George William Blunt, 1867.

Loring was a distinguished Boston collector and an authority on American maritime cartography. He became Chairman of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library in 1966. He donated some forty editions of *The American coast pilot* to the Library. This volume was first purchased in 1868 by J. H. Widger, whose initials are inked on the sailcloth of the front cover.

Case 2: "From the Castle of ..."

17. FERDINAND V, KING OF SPAIN (1452-1516)
ISABELLA I, QUEEN OF SPAIN (1451-1504)

Spain. Sovereign (1479-1504: Ferdinand V and Isabella I). [Manuscript document]. 1491.

This official document was purchased by the Library in 1924 as part of a collection of "relaciones," news sheets printed in Spain and Spanish America. The manuscript bears the signatures and seals of Ferdinand and Isabella. These signatures are not, strictly speaking, marks of ownership; they do, however, represent two out of many autographs in the JCB associated with persons of significance in the history of America.

18. CARLOS III, KING OF SPAIN (1716-1788)

Spain. *Reales ordenanzas*. Madrid, 1783.

This collection of Spanish laws and statutes was once in the royal library of Carlos III. The front and back cover of the volume are imprinted with the royal crest. During the reign of King Carlos, Spain prospered greatly. Carlos sided with France in the Seven Years' War and entered the Revolutionary War on the side of America.

19. CHARLES II, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN (1630-1685)

John Smith, 1580-1631. *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. London, 1627.

The binding stamp shown here represents another royal coat of arms, that of Charles II, the Restoration king. That the library of the sovereign would have literature on the first permanent British colony in North America is no surprise.

20. PHILIP, KING (METACOMET), SACHEM OF THE WAMPANOAGS (ca. 1639-1676)

Know all men by these p[re]sents. Rehoboth, Mass., 1668.

With this deed the chief of the Wampanoag Indians, dubbed "King Philip" by English settlers, confirmed the sale of "the eight miles square" on either side of Palmer's river that was to become the town of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. Philip signed the document with a large "P." A decade later, in 1675, hostilities between colonists and Indians erupted in King Philip's War.

21. JOHN PERCEVAL, EARL OF EGMONT (1711-1770)

Thomas Stephens. *A brief account of the causes that have retarded the progress of the colony of Georgia*. London, 1743.

John Perceval, the second Earl of Egmont, wrote the angry note on the title page of this book: "publish'd by Tho. Stephens, who on his knees rec'd at the Bar of the H. of Commons the censure of being a a [sic] scandalous and malicious fellow". Egmont was, among many other things, the author of a series of political pamphlets. According to Walpole, he was never known to laugh, though he was indeed seen to smile, and that was at chess. Egmont's ex-libris is from the Library's book-plate collection. The motto "sub cruce canto" translates, "I sing under the cross."

22. JOHN STUART, EARL OF BUTE (1713-1792)

Benjamin Franklin, 1706-1790. *Experiments and observations on electricity*. London, 1751-1754.

John Stuart was a controversial British politician who had the powers of prime minister under George III, although he held no official post. The bookplate motto, which translates "No one harms me with impunity" and is also the motto of

the Crown of Scotland, calls to mind that Bute was lampooned and caricatured through much of his public life. The volume itself is an account of Franklin's scientific experiments with lightning and attests to Bute's deep interest in science, especially botany, astronomy, and mathematics.

23. GEORGE III, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN (1738-1820)

Great Britain. Anno Regni Georgii III . London, 1765. [An act for importation of salted beef, pork, bacon, and butter].

George III ascended to the throne when the Seven Years' War was in progress. He was the king during the war of the American Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Displayed here is the binding stamp on the front cover of a collection of laws and statutes. "G R" at the top stands for "Georgius Rex." The royal arms appear in many different versions, but they always include the lion and the unicorn and the motto "Dieu et mon Droit".

24. SIR WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL, BART. (1818-1878)

Uberto Foglietta, 1518-1581. *Gli eloggi.* Genoa, 1579.

Sir William was a historian and a Spanish scholar as well as a respected connoisseur of rare books and works of art. When he inherited the family estates, he remodelled his mansion at Keir and turned the old hall into a library. He also had a mansion with a very fine library in London. He was one of the original thirty-five members of the Philobiblon Society.

* * * This is My Book * * *

25. JOHANN WILHELM, KURFUERST VON DER PFALZ (1658-1716)

Nicholas de Toict, 1611-1685. *Historia provinciae Paraquariae Societatis Jesu.* Liège, 1673.

"Jan Wellem", as he is commonly referred to in Germany, Elector of the Palatinate, was born in Düsseldorf on the Rhine and lived there for most of his life. In fact, a statue of the elector on his horse is one of the landmarks of that city. Jan Wellem was educated by the Jesuits as a youth and remained under their influence. According to an inscription on the fly-leaf by an instructor, Johann Wilhelm gave this book to the Jesuit College in Düsseldorf in 1714.

26. PARIS DOMINICUS CAJETAN, REICHSGRAF VON WOLKENSTEIN-TROSTBURG (1696-1774)

Agustín de Zárate, b. 1514. *Histoire de la découverte et de la conquête du Perou.* Paris, 1716.

Paris Domenicus Cajetan, Austrian Count of the Empire, was a member of the same illustrious family as the famous poet Oswald von Wolkenstein (1367-1445). Freely translated, Wolkenstein & Trostburg means "Cloud Castle & Comfort Citadel".

27. EUGENE, PRINCE OF SAVOY (1663-1736)

[*Biblia*]. Mainz, 1462.

This Bible, produced by Johann Fust (former partner of Gutenberg) and Peter Schoeffer, once belonged to the celebrated Austrian General, Prince Eugene. He was appointed commander in chief of the imperial army and defeated the Turks and the French.

* * * This is My Book * * *

28. MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO (1832-1867)

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, 1600-1659. *Cartas*. Rome, 1700.

Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was induced by Napoleon III in 1864 to become Emperor of Mexico. The crown should not have been his, and in 1867 Maximilian was executed at Querétaro by President Benito Juárez. The Archduke was an ardent bibliophile. In about 1870 the Library acquired a small part of Maximilian's collection.

29. LOUIS XIV, KING OF FRANCE (1638-1715)

Charles Plumier, 1646-1704. *Traité des fougeres*. Paris, 1705.

The Roi Soleil had his crest with the fleurs-de-lis impressed on the cover of this oversize tome. Plumier's botanical work once graced the library shelves at Versailles.

30. LA ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT (1747-1827)

Aedanus Burke, 1743?-1802?. *Considerations on the Society of Cincinnati*. Philadelphia, 1783.

La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt was a philanthropist and politician. He emigrated to the United States during the French Revolution and returned to France in 1799. He wrote *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, which was first published in 1798. The Library owns several editions of this work.

* * * This is My Book * * *

31. MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)

Jean Baptiste Poupart de Beaubourg, 1755-1794. *Le triomphe du beau sexe.* Boston [i.e. Paris], 1778.

Lafayette's love letter to Aglaé de Hunolstein (written "Aglaie" in the first line) caused a sensation when it was first published. This volume was originally in the possession of an autograph collector--Lafayette's signature is mysteriously missing--and contains other items including love poetry by Lafayette. The letter suggests the end of a liaison between Lafayette and his mistress that had lasted for six years and had probably motivated his sojourn in America. After the letter was bought by the Library in 1934, Mr. Wroth, the Librarian, allowed for photostats to be made. Immediately a controversy broke out among the Fayettists of America. Some were quick to deny the authenticity of the letter or to assert that it was really addressed to Lafayette's wife, Adrienne.

32. WILHELM GOTTLIEB VON TILESIUS (1769-1857)

Pehr Löfling, 1729-1756. *Reise, nach den spanischen Ländern in Europa und America in den Jahren 1751 bis 1756.* Berlin & Stralsund, 1766.

Tilesius was an explorer, doctor, and naturalist who emigrated to Russia and became an advisor to the Russian court. He took part in a voyage around the world under Johann von Krusenstern, and upon his return he was ennobled for his services to the Czar. The inscription states that this volume was one of a number that accompanied him on the voyage and "floated in the waves with me or became saturated by sea water."

Leo.iiij.der.Cuſ.pays Erſte Hagebaldus der.xx.byſſchoff zo Coellen.

¶ Diſſe pays was alzo goit Criſten man Jnd zo ſnire zijt was eyn konynck in Engelant Adolphus genoempt Jnd was der eyrſte konynck der oeuer ganz Engelant gh eyn beerſchede. Der ſelue konynck quâ zo Rome syn Pilgrymaeſe zo doin Jnd dat geſchiede im .viij.jair Lotharij. Jnd vur de Pays Leo gaff be ſent Peter eyn erfbuyr van eym peckliche hirys in Engelant und macht. Dat eyn yglich huys ſoulde geuen dem Pays van Rome eyn ſilueren penijnck Jnd dat hait gewert bis vp diſſen huydigen dach. Diſſe Pays Leo ſtarff eyn billich man.

Wye eyn wijff pays wart zo Rome.ind voirt gemeynlich genoempt Pays Jutte



Johannes.viij.der.Cuſ.pays. ind was eyn wijff Sie vuech wijff was geboren vyff Engelant als eyn beyll ſagen. Sie anderen ſpriechen ſy was geboren van Mentz. Jnd lieff ſych Johannes nennen und was zwey jair Pays Jnd der quam als ich geſchreuen vinde alſue zo. Sy gnoich vnt eynre geſellen in vrientſ lante zo Athenen in Grieckenlant in manns cleederen Jnd do ſtudirde und leyrde Sy ſo ſere in allen kunſten dat ſy zo gelijchen man zo vinden was Jnd als ſy nu ſere geleirt was ſo gnoich Sy van danne ghen Rome Jnd dar beſtonde Sy dat ſelue. Dat Sy geleert hadde. ouch andere zo leren. und hielt ſchoil dar. und leirde ſo wail. dat ouch groſſe meyſtere dair quamen vyr ir leren zo boeren und zo leren. Jnd dae mit quam Sy dair zo. Dat Sy eyn groiſſen nemen kreich. und was gehalden vur eynen vroemen und geleirten man Jot begaffliche dat der Pays ſtarff und Sy wart eyndrechtlich gekoren zo eym Pays. want neymantz enwiſte dat Sy eyn wijff was. Dae Sy nu Pays worden was ſo wart Sy van eyme yr kemmerlingen ſwangger gemacht Jnd als men vp eyn zijt ſoulde eyn proceſſion halden und Sy wiſte met langer zo gain und was begelichs wairt den ſoch dat Sy neder quemt. Der Sij endoiſte niet vnderwegen layſſen ſy moyſte in der proceſſion ſelffs perſoenlich ſyn. ſo wart yr offenbairt vā got als eyn beyll ſagen. off ſy wouldelteaer eyn werltliche hōāde bauen off ewliche verdoempt ſyn Sy kur vp werltliche ſchande Jnd als ſy in der proceſſion was Jnd gunck van ſent Peters kriche vyff zo ſent Marie zo Lateranē. ſo wart yr zwuſchen wegen wee zom krutz Jnd dae gebar Sy yr kynt Jnd balde darnae ſtarff Sy Jnd wart daſelfs begraben Jnd hiermit noch bude zo dage als der Pays proceſſion ſall halden und wanne de vp ſie ſtar kumpt ſo keyrt he ſich vmb ind geyt eyn anderen weg. Et ve quidam ſcribunt cauſa vitandi eiuſdem ex eius ſum creatus Pontifex Romanus primo in ſede Petri collocatur ab eam cem perſonata. genitalia ab vltimo Diacono obtrectantur. Jnd vmb der vnbequemlicheit ind vngeboerlichkeit willen d geſchicht ze ſo is diſſe Pays Johan off Pays ſtutte nict geſatzt in der halle der payſſe.

¶ By deſen tzijden wart gemacht der ſanck den men ſinckt vp den Palm dach. Gloria laus et honor tibi ſit ꝛc. Van eym buſchoff Thedolphus genoempt. Der ſelue was gehangen und gefenckliche gelacht in eym toin ouermitz valſch anbringen. ind doch vnuerſchult. Jnd as he den vurß ſanck ſange. dair mit verdiēt he. dat he weder vurß gelaiſſen wart. Deſe vurß Buſchoff was buſchoff zo Orliens in vranckrich und vmb dat he den vurß ſanck ſo meyſterlich van worden und van lude gemacht hadde wart der kerſer der yn dat ſyngen bou de. beweget ind bewicht dat he yn widderumb ſant in ſyn buſchdom mit groſſer eren.



William R. A. Hays. See item 42.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Case 3: "From Classrooms, Convents, Cottages"

33. COLLEGIUM SOCIETATIS JESU MINDELHEIMIUM.

Hartmann Schedel, 1440-1514. *Das Buch der Croniken vnnd Geschichten.* Augsburg, 1500.

On display is an example of censorship on the part of book owners. The volume is open to the woodcut and the story of the alleged "Pope Joan". This popess of the ninth century is a pure figment of the imagination. She supposedly became pregnant by one of her attendants and died in childbirth during a public procession. Legend has it that after the Pope Joan episode a special kind of chair was designed for candidates for the papacy, which allowed the deacons to discreetly determine the candidate's sex. --This edition of Schedel's world chronicle is a pirated one, and this particular copy was owned by a German Jesuit College. It is notable that this slander on the papacy was published before the Lutheran Reformation. One can only assume that the German Jesuits proceeded to paste cancel slips over the portrait and the story of the fictitious popess. The Library's copy of another chronicle, *Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat Coellen.* Cologne, 1499, was censored in a similar fashion. The account of the female pope's life and death is crossed out and declared "pure lies" in a marginal manuscript note in Latin.

34. PETER BOURSE HAZARD.
SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New. Cambridge, England, 1759.

Peter Hazard tried, in a poetic sort of way, to protect himself against the loss of his Bible. "Don't steal this book for fear of shame, for in it stands the owner's name." This Bible contains, inside the front-cover, the book-plate of the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, including the Latin version of the motto "By crossing the seas aid us". The Anglican society's goal was to carry the Gospel to British settlers as well as to the heathen.

35. NATHAN WATERS.

Thomas Green, 1761-1814. *A sermon, delivered October 24, 1790.* Boston, 1791.

Nathan Waters was willing to lend his copy of a printed sermon but admonished his friends: "To the Borrower. Use it carefully, and Return it speedily".

36. RICHARD WATERMAN.

Isaac Watts, 1674-1748. *Logic.* Newburyport, 1796.

Richard Waterman, who was probably a college student when he owned this popular text, issued a sterner warning: "This is my Book god is my witness if any one steal it he shall hang by the neck".

37. "JOERG-BOY".

Das ganz Neue Testament unsers Herrn Jesu Christi. Ephrata, 1787.

"Jörg-Boy" in Pennsylvania wrote possessively and somewhat bilingually in his German New Testament: "Das buch gehert mir Jörg beu [i.e. boy] ich habs gekauft. (This book belongs to me, George-Boy. I bought it.)"

38. BARBARA MOSSER.

Johann Habermann, 1516-1590. *D. Joh. Habermanns von Eger christlich Gebät-Buch.* Germantown, 1794.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Barbara Mosser's prayer-book, printed in Pennsylvania, has an artistically decorated fly-leaf. This little volume may have been a Christmas gift; it was inscribed in December of 1801 with wishes for "happiness and God's blessings".

39. MARTHA FINENCHER.

Johannes Florentius Martinet, 1729-1795. *The catechism of nature*. Philadelphia, 1799.

Martha Finencher's catechism bears the proud inscription of her Sunday school teacher: "Sabbath School Reward to Martha Finencher for the recitation of 316 verses in 12 Sabbaths".

40. CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB EISEN (1770-1835)

Hendrik Smeeks, d. 1721. *Des Herrn Juan de Posos Beschreibung des mächtigen Königreichs Krinke Kesmes*. Delitzsch, 1748.

When Dr. Günther Buchheim, of the John Carter Brown Library staff, catalogued this book recently, he noticed that it was inscribed in Döbeln, a small town in Saxony, which happens to be his place of birth. Dr. Buchheim's mother, still a resident of Döbeln, was able to identify the previous owner by checking in the church register: Christian Gottlieb Eisen, 1770-1835.

41. MENNONITE MEETINGHOUSE.

Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions, von alten und neuen auserlesenen Geistes Gesängen. Chestnut Hill, Penn., 1791.

On display is a lengthy note in German stating that this hymnal was the property of the congregation. "This song-book is for the use at the Meeting House. Please do not remove."

42. WILLIAM R. A. HAYS.

From the JCB book-plate collection.

William R.A. Hays used this mildly erotic book-plate as an indication of his ownership. The fine print at the bottom reads: "Le livre est un ami qui ne change jamais (the book is a friend who never changes.)"

43. BERTRAM LLOYD.

Edward Brerewood, 1565?-1613. *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions, through the chiefe parts of the world.* London, 1635.

Book-plates, or ex-libris, are often of artistic interest as well as a help in establishing a book's provenance. Some book-plates were done by top draftsmen and painters. Animals are quite frequently depicted, such as the wolf in the ex-libris chosen by Bertram Lloyd.

44. ADOLF FISCHER.

Ausfürliche und glaubwürdige Geschichte der neuesten Reisen um die Welt . Erster Band. Berlin, 1775.

Adolf Fischer used the picture of a wildebeest or gnu, an African antelope, in his book-plate.

45. A. T. GAUSEBECK.

William Rufus Chetwood, d. 1766. *Richard Falconers erstaunliche Seefahrten.* Leipzig, 1743.

The ex-libris of A.T. Gausebeck shows a bird of paradise. The verso of the fly-leaf bears manuscript notes in German: "A.T. Gausebeck Monasteriensis [of Münster], 1914-1942 in New York, 1942 in Camp Upton, N.Y. & Fort Mead,



An advertisement concerning the province of East-New -Jersey in America. 1685. See item 46.



Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. *Triumpho parthenico*. 1683. See item 48.

Md., then Berlin, Paris, Barcelona, Buenos Aires 1949. This book was newly bound in May 1951 in Buenos Aires."

46. EDWARD N. CRANE.

An advertisement concerning the province of East-New-Jersey in America. Edinburgh, 1685.

Not infrequently do book-plates represent a play on words and names. The design in Edward N. Crane's ex-libris shows his name-sake, the tall wading bird called a crane. Incidentally, many of Crane's books are now in the William L. Clements Library in Michigan.

47. DR. ALTHOL.

Éléazar de Mauvillon, 1712-1779. *Le soldat parvenu, ou Memoires et avantures de M. de Verval . Tome premier.* Dresden, 1761.

Dr. Althol's book-plate features a fir tree and a motto, which resembles an anagram of the owner's name. "Recta se tollit in altum" tells the reader "It rises straight into the sky".

48. JOSÉ MARIA ANDRADE (1807-1883)

Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, 1645-1700. *Triumpho parthenico.* Mexico, 1683.

The small book-plate in the upper left-hand corner also conveys a double meaning. "Inter folia fructus" (among the leaves the fruit) applies to both the little strawberry plant and the book itself. Andrade was one of Mexico's foremost bibliographers.

* * * This is My Book * * *

49. MORIZ GROLIG.

Johann Jakob Moser, 1701-1785. *Derer saltzburgischen Emigrations-Acten erster Band.* Frankfurt am Main & Leipzig, 1732.

Dr. Grolig of Vienna noted on the fly-leaf that he obtained the two-volume set in 1905 for 15 marks. The book-plate shows a photograph of the proud owner in his library with either a relative or his amanuensis.

50. P. ANSART.

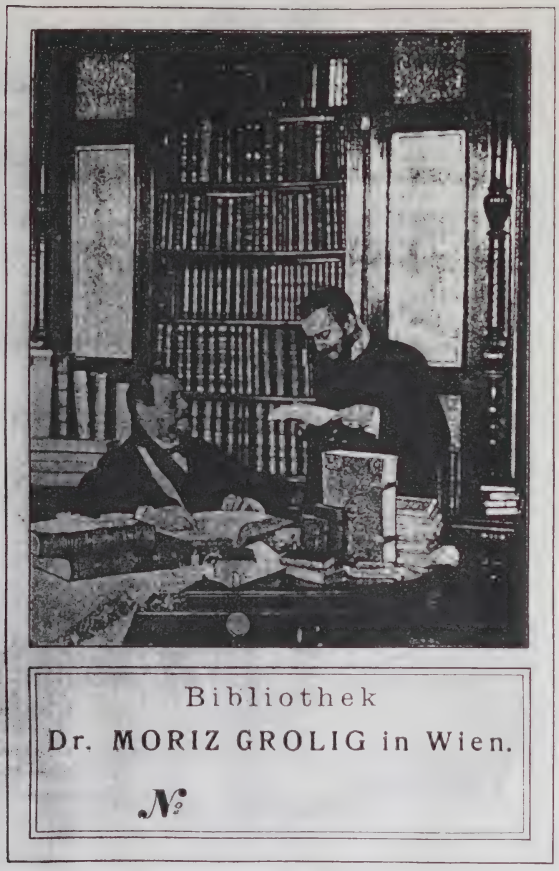
Marine architecture: or directions for carrying on a ship. London, 1739.

The book-plate displayed here appears to date from the late nineteenth century. It depicts a female figure seated behind a lectern and can be considered a fairly good example of the book-plate as "miniature art". This maritime book was probably owned by a member of the ancient French family by the name of Ansart.

51. JOHN TANNER (d. 1785?)

Ebenezer Turell, 1702-1778. *The life and character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman.* Boston, 1749.

John Tanner, part of whose collection is now owned by the Library, used a very simple ex-libris. The book-plate underwent several changes and was corrected and altered in different ways by reprinting the border, cutting out unwanted words, and adding letters and numbers in manuscript. Two versions can be viewed here.



Johann Jakob Moser. *Derer saltzburgischen Emigrations-Acten erster Band.* 1732. See item 49.



William Smith. *Ahiman rezon abridged and digested.* 1783.
See item 61.

* * * This is My Book * * *

52. PUEBLA DE LOS ANGELES. SANTA BARBARA (CONVENT).

Alonso Ramírez de Vargas. *Sagrado padron y panegyricos sermones*. Mexico, 1691.

Book-brands, applied to the fore-edge, or the head, and mostly consisting of the arms or the initials of a particular religious order, were commonly used as marks of ownership in Mexican monasteries. This vellum-bound volume was previously in the possession of the Convent of Santa Barbara in Puebla de los Angeles.

Case 4: "From the Bookcases of Famous Former Owners" (Part I)

53. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Joannes de Sacro Bosco, fl. 1230. *Spera mundi feliciter incipit*. Venice, 1478.

Columbus is known to have used Sacro Bosco's *Sphaera* for his calculations. This particular copy of the Venice, 1478 edition may very possibly have been Columbus's own with his autograph on the last page. The last line of his signature represents the Latinized form of his first name. There have been a number of theories concerning the other symbols, but so far no one has solved the mystery.

54. FERNANDO COLON (1488-1539)

Marco Antonio Magno. *Oratio in funere regis Catholici*. Naples, 1516.

The "oration" of the title commemorates the death of King Ferdinand, husband of Isabella, in 1516. An inscription in the hand of Fernando Colón, son of Christopher Columbus, states that he purchased the volume at Rome in July of 1516. Interestingly, the oration makes passing mention of his father's discoveries in the New World.

55. RICHARD MATHER (1596-1669)

Bay Psalm Book. *The whole booke of Psalmes faithfully translated into English metre*. Cambridge, Mass., 1640.

The Bay Psalm Book was the first book printed in English America. Richard Mather, the first member of the Mather family to emigrate to America, was one of the scholars who was charged to translate the psalms from the Hebrew. Well-worn and heavily annotated, this was his personal copy and was passed down as a family heirloom until it was finally

offered for public auction as one of only eleven copies of the book known to exist and the only one entirely complete and in its original binding.

56. INCREASE MATHER (1639-1723)
JOHN OWEN (1616-1683)

Increase Mather, 1639-1723. *The first principles of New England.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1675.

One of Increase Mather's many learned treatises, this work deals with questions of baptism and congregationalism and is a key document for early New England thinking on those issues. The inscription reads, "For the Rev'd & much honor'd Dr. John Owen". Owen, who lived in England, is mentioned as an authority in the text of this presentation copy.

57. COTTON MATHER (1663-1728)

Thomas Shepard, 1605-1649. *Sampwutteahae quinnuppekompauaenin.* Cambridge, Mass., 1639.

Cotton Mather, who inherited a large part of the family library, built up a collection of 7,000 or 8,000 volumes that was "the glory of New England and of all America" in the opinion of a British bookseller who saw it. The fate of the library after Cotton Mather's death is somewhat obscure, but the John Carter Brown has purchased a large number of volumes in auctions. This work is a translation of Thomas Shepard's religious tract, *The sincere convert*, into the language of the Massachuset Indians, probably accomplished by John Eliot.

58. BALTHSAR BEKKER (1634-1698)
ROBERT CALEF (1648-1719)

Balthasar Bekker, 1634-1698. *Le monde enchanté.* Amsterdam, 1694.

Both Bekker and Calef expressed their powerful condemnation of the seventeenth-century view of witchcraft, and both wrote books that occupy an important place in the history of witchcraft. Bekker was a Dutch theologian who was dismissed from his pastorate in Amsterdam after the publication of his work *De betoverde weereld* in 1693. Calef, a Boston merchant, accused Cotton Mather of attempting to stir up a Boston delusion in the wake of the Salem tragedy. Calef's book *More wonders of the invisible world* was first published in London, 1700. Increase Mather promptly caused a copy of the work to be burned in Harvard Yard. The French edition shown here is the author's autographed presentation copy to Robert Calef.

59. THOMAS PRINCE (1687-1758)
THOMAS HUBBARD (1702-1773)

Thomas Prince, 1687-1758. *A sermon delivered at the South Church in Boston, N.E.* Boston, 1746.

Displayed here is a copy of one of Prince's sermons presented by the author to Thomas Hubbard. Thomas Prince was a historian of New England, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, and a scholarly collector, who has been called the "father of American bibliography". He inherited an interest in books from his grandfather, Thomas Hinckley, the last governor of Plymouth Colony. Prince called his personal collection (which contained five copies of the Bay Psalm Book) his New England Library. As pastor of the Old South Church he developed a collection that came to be known as the South Church Library.

* * * This is My Book * * *

60. JONATHAN EDWARDS, JR. (1745-1801)

Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758. *A careful and strict enquiry into the modern prevailing notions of that freedom of will.* London, 1790.

Jonathan Edwards, the Younger, must have given this copy of his celebrated father's authoritative work on predestination to Yale University. Later, it became part of the library at Brown University, where apparently someone crossed out Edwards's presentation note. Jonathan Edwards, Jr., was pastor of the White Haven Church in New Haven from 1769-1795. In 1799 he became President of Union College, Schenectady, N.Y.

61. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

William Smith, 1727-1803. *Ahiman rezon abridged and digested: as a help to all that are, or would be free and accepted Masons.* Philadelphia, 1783.

This work would have been of special interest to Washington, who was a freemason. His library contained approximately nine hundred volumes at the time of his death. Before John Nicholas Brown bought this book in 1891, it was in the Washington collection of John R. Baker of Philadelphia. The copy has a red morocco slip stamped with gilt indicating ownership of the "Last Commander In Chief Of The American Army." It also bears Washington's armorial book-plate with the motto "Exitus Acta Probat," freely translated as "The test of our plans is the outcome."

62. JOHN HANCOCK (1737-1793)

United States. Continental Congress. *In Congress. Wednesday, Apr. 3, 1776. Instructions to the commanders of private ships.* Philadelphia?, 1776.

John Hancock, American Revolutionary patriot, became president of the Provincial Congress in 1774. From 1775 to

1777 he was president of the second Continental Congress. He was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1780; he presided at the convention (1788) for the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. He was not the first to sign the Declaration of Independence, but his bold inscription stands out as the principal signature. The broadside shown here shows Hancock's autograph.

63. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790)

Pennsylvania. Supreme Executive Council. *To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: know ye, that in consideration of the services rendered.* Philadelphia, 1787.

This broadside (printed on vellum) also bears a signature, which appears on the Declaration of Independence as well. Benjamin Franklin, "America's first world citizen," whose many achievements are well-known, was a member of the second Continental Congress and of the Constitutional Convention. Franklin signed the document on display in his capacity as president of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

64. ISAIAH THOMAS (1749-1831)

Aaron Bancroft, 1755-1839. *A sermon, delivered at Worcester.* Worcester, Mass., 1793.

Like Benjamin Franklin, Isaiah Thomas was a printer. He became an indentured apprentice at a Boston printing shop at the age of six. By the time he was forty-five years old he was the most important printer-publisher of his generation. He collected a large library, the contents of which traced the development of printing. His *History of printing* was regarded as the standard work in its field for over 100 years. Thomas was the founder and first president of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester. --The pamphlet on display was not only printed by Isaiah Thomas but bears his autograph on the title page.

65. ISAAC BACKUS (1724-1806)

Edward Young, 1683-1765. *A poem on the last day*. 6th ed. London, 1753.

Edward Young was a religious poet best known for his long, philosophical poem *Night thoughts* (1742). Young himself took holy orders at age 50, and his poetry was probably much to the taste of Backus, a Baptist minister who was a key figure in the Great Awakening.

66. UPDIKE FAMILY.

Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra. Geneva, 1607.

This is the family bible acquired by Ludowick Updike, whose son, Daniel Updike (ca. 1693-1757), was attorney-general of Rhode Island. Daniel's brother, Gysbert, married the daughter of Richard Smith, who had purchased a large tract of land from the Narragansett Indians. The Updikes resided in "Smith's Castle" in Wickford, and in North Kingstown.The biographical entries shown cover the period from 1761 to 1784.--The bible is the gift to the JCB of Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941), close friend of Harold Brown, founder of the famous Merrymount Press in Boston, and a member of the Library's Committee of Management for many years.

67. HORACE WALPOLE (1717-1797)
GEORGE COLMAN (1732-1794)

John Long. *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader.* London, 1791.

Horace Walpole was an English novelist and man of letters, whose literary fame rests mostly on his vast correspondence. In 1741 he was elected to Parliament; in 1791 he became the 4th Earl of Orford. When Walpole was thirty years old, he

moved to a small house on the Thames, which he remodeled and filled with books, pictures, and curiosities. "Strawberry Hill" became a landmark in English taste. In 1757 Walpole opened the Strawberry Hill Press, perhaps the most famous private press ever to be operated in England. --According to Wilmarth S. Lewis, the book on display was never part of the Strawberry Hill Library, and the book-plate is a forgery. The volume was definitely at one time owned and heavily annotated by George Colman, a British dramatist.

68. ROBERT SOUTHEY (1774-1843)

Martín Cortés. *The arte of nauigation.* London, 1561.

Southey, an English poet of some note, is also known for an excellent prose history of Portugal. He was a collector, critic, and editor of Spanish literature. When his extensive library was offered for sale, the collector George Ticknor acquired some 79 rare volumes. The Library has many volumes from Southey's library.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Case 5: "From the Bookcases of Famous Former Owners" (Part II)

69. SCIPIO, CARTEROMACHUS (1466-1515)

Ovid, 43 B.C. - 17 or 18 A.D. *P. Ouidij Nasonis uita per Aldum ex ipsius libris excerpta.* Venice, 1515.

This edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* with textual notes on the whole of Ovid by the editor, and a life written by Aldus Manutius, belonged to Scipione Fortiguerra, or Carteromachus. A scholar of Greek, Carteromachus was often entrusted with the correction of Greek texts printed by Aldus. This edition shows many annotations and underlinings of unknown hand; but it also contains an inscription by Carteromachus and the book-plate of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843), a later owner.

70. CLEMENT VIII, POPE (1536-1605)

Catholic Church. Province of Lima. Concilio Provincial (1583). *Catecismo en la lengua Española. y Quichua del Piru.* Rome, 1603.

This pocket-size catechism with a gilt binding stamp on vellum was originally in the Vatican Library. Clement VIII, whose papal arms are on the front cover, was pope from 1592 to 1605. He ordered a revised edition (the "Clementine") of the Vulgate Bible in 1592.

71. FUGGER FAMILY.

Jan Huygen van Linschoten, 1563-1611. *Descriptio totius Guineae tractus.* The Hague, 1599.

This cover stamp identifies Linschoten's book as the one-time property of the Fuggers, mercantile house of Augsburg, which flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries. They

became bankers to the Hapsburgs and backed Charles V with their great wealth, who in turn granted them special privileges. Eventually they expanded the family's business horizon to the New World. Their correspondents everywhere sent home privately acquired information, which was published in the form of news sheets or tracts.

72. SEBALD WELSER (1557-1589)

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, d. 1559. *Historia dell' Indie Orientali*. Venice, 1577.

The Welsers (of Augsburg and Nuremberg) also owned extremely rich banking and commercial firms. They lent large sums to Charles V as well, and were granted the right to colonize Venezuela. --The binding stamp is that of Sebald Welser, senator in Nuremberg. Sebald was the son of Jakob Welser, who is known for his especially lively interest in the lands around the Rio de la Plata.

73. TITUS OATES (1649-1705)

Francisco de Faria, fl. 1680. *The information of Francisco de Faria, delivered at the Bar of the House of Commons*. London, 1680.

Titus Oates was dedicated to exposing the supposed Popish plot of 1680 to kill the king. This was his personal copy of certain testimony before Parliament. The author was Francisco de Faria, a Jew who was born in South America, and this is therefore apparently the first work by an American-born Jew printed in English.

* * * This is My Book * * *

74. JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT (1619-1683)

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, 1457-1526. *De orbe nouo*. Paris, 1587.

This copy of Peter Martyr's work has the inscription on the title page "Bibliotheca Colbertina." Jean Baptiste Colbert, French statesman, entered the service of Cardinal Mazarin, and later was appointed by Louis XIV minister of finance. He introduced extensive fiscal reforms, as a result of which the income of the government was nearly trebled. He is the founder of several institutions for the promotion of art and science.

75. JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778)

Voyage a la Mer du Sud, fait par quelques officiers commandants le vaisseau Le Wager. Lyons, 1756.

For this work, several travel journals of English explorers were compiled and translated into French. Rousseau apparently took great interest in such accounts, and they may have influenced his thinking on such things as Amerindian culture; however, the manuscript note, which may be in Rousseau's hand, suggests that reading this book will disabuse one of the notion that "les hèretiques" are happier than their counterparts in Europe. The reference to p. 387 appears to question the conduct of the explorers in regard to the "vessel of Lima" mentioned in the text.

76. ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR (1735-1813)

Société Gallo Américaine. [*Minute-book of the Société's constitution, and of its proceedings*]. Paris, 2 Jan.- 3 Apr. 1787.

The society was formed under the protection of the Duc d'Orléans. This book records the deliberations of Crèvecoeur and others over whether the society should be a universally fraternal organization, or one devoted to

friendship between France and the United States especially. The codex contains letters to the society from the English Quaker bookseller James Phillips, and from the society to the Marquis de Lafayette and to Thomas Jefferson. The "Première Séance" is signed by Crèvecoeur and others. -- Crèvecoeur was a French author and agriculturist, who emigrated to America in 1754, and settled on a farm near New York. In 1783 he became French consul at New York. He enjoyed the friendship of Washington and Franklin. Crèvecoeur is best known for his *Letters from an American farmer* (first published London, 1782), of which the Library owns six editions.

Case 6: "From the Browns of Providence Plantations"

77. CAPTAIN JAMES BROWN (1724-1751)

The English Pilot. The fourth book. Describing the West-India navigation. London, 1745.

Captain Brown was the eldest son of James and Hope (Power) Brown of Providence and the granduncle of John Carter Brown (1797-1874). He was master of the sloop *Chaniel* and died unmarried at York, Virginia. Copies of maritime works often contain manuscript entries, some of them biographical in nature, some of them constituting an abbreviated form of ship's log as well as instructions and directions for personal use. At the top of the front fly-leaf, Captain Brown stated that he bought this *pilot* in Boston in 1748. On the back fly-leaf is a handwritten note recording the Captain's death.

78. MOSES BROWN (1738-1836)

Abel Stiles, 1709-1783. *Death God's monitor to the living.* Providence: Sarah Goddard & John Carter, 1768.

Moses Brown was one the brothers of Captain James Brown. He joined the Society of Friends and became the founder of the Yearly Meeting Boarding School. He was a member of the Abolition Society and manumitted all his slaves in 1773. He was instrumental in inducing Samuel Slater to inaugurate the industry of cotton spinning by use of water power.

79. JOHN CARTER BROWN (1797-1874)

Ralph Hamor, d. 1626. *Dreyzehende Schiffahrt darinnen ein warhafftiger vnd gründtlicher Bericht, von dem jtzigen Zustandt der Landtschafft Virginien.* Hanau: Levinus Hulsius, 1617.

The Browns of Providence were the first in America to create a permanent institutional library, open to scholars world-wide, out of what began as simply a family tradition of book collecting. John Carter Brown, a graduate of Brown University, was an ardent book collector for over forty years. Americana had not been popular with collectors of means before the 1830s. By the time John Carter Brown died, it was recognized as one of the the most important fields open to the ambitious collector. John Carter Brown used at least seven different ownership marks in his books. The metal stamps for most of them are still kept in the Library. The binding stamp on display is formed by the motto "Gaudeo," the armorial design of the griffin, and the owner's trigram.

80. HAROLD BROWN (1863-1900)

George Fox, 1624-1691. *An epistle general to them who are of the royal priest-hood and chosen generation.* London, 1660.

Harold Brown, younger son of John Carter Brown, was only mildly interested in Americana. He followed his personal preferences in forming an admirably chosen collection of books on the liturgy of the Church of England as well as other religious works.

81. JAMES BROWN (1698-1739)

William Bradford, 1663-1752. *The secretary's guide, or, Young mans companion.* New York & Philadelphia, 1728.

* * * This is My Book * * *

This copy of Bradford's work represents the earliest recorded acquisition of a book currently part of the Library's collection. It came from James Brown, John Carter Brown's great-grandfather, to James's son, the first Nicholas Brown (1729-1791). Nicholas wrote his name on the fly-leaf at eleven years of age.

82. JOHN CARTER BROWN (1797-1874)

Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679. *Behemoth; or An epitome of the civil wars of England from 1640, to 1660.* London, 1679.

This is the first book known to have been owned by John Carter Brown. He inscribed it at the age of eleven.

83. J. CARTER BROWN (1934-)

The Crisis. London, 1756.

This book and the following demonstrate the continuity of interest in the Library shown by the descendants of the first John Carter Brown. It was J. Carter Brown's own idea, in his twelfth year, to write his name in a book and give it to the Library in 1946.

84. JAY BROWN (1977-)

David Morrice. *The young midshipman's instructor.* London, 1801.

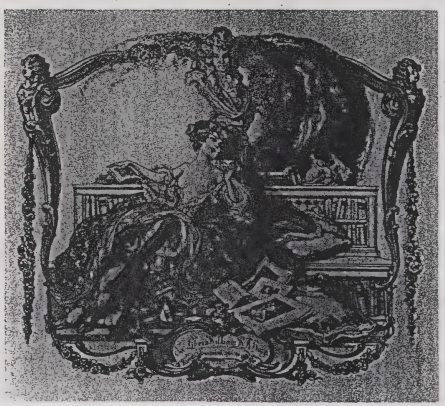
In 1988, J. Carter Brown's eleven-year-old son, Jay Brown, in turn made the gift of an autographed book to the Library.

* * * This is My Book * * *

Acknowledgments

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INTER FOLIA FRVCTVS
J. M. ANDRADE



ARCHITECTURAL PATTERN BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA



ARCHITECTURAL PATTERN BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

By

Timothy T. More

A preliminary catalogue of an exhibition

opened on the occasion of

The Forty-Seventh Annual Meeting of

The Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

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The John Carter Brown Library

Providence, Rhode Island

1990

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ARCHITECTURAL TREATISES

Seventeenth-century English architectural books paled in comparison with the famous folios of the Renaissance Italian and French architects such as Serlio, Palladio, Vignola, de Cerceau, and De L'Orme. English architectural treatises were few in number, normally small in size and not particularly high in quality. The authors (who were never architects) ranged from gentlemen, such as Sir Henry Wotton and John Evelyn, to booksellers like Godfrey Richards. The usual content of their books shows an eclectic mixture of abridged and translated Italian and French Renaissance architectural treatises and instructional texts.

1. Andrea Palladio. *The First Book of Architecture; by Andrea Palladio ... The Eighth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.* London, 1716. Translated by Godfrey Richards. Frontispiece.

The first English edition of Palladio's works, a typical seventeenth-century British architectural treatise, was published in London in 1663. Its compiler, the bookseller Godfrey Richards, translated the original Italian text, but used the plates from a French edition of the first book of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*. This he combined with a translation of a French study on doors and windows and two English discourses on roofs and floors. By 1721, the book had run to nine editions, evidence that Palladianism existed in England prior to its adoption by the Earl of Burlington and others in the early eighteenth century.

Thomas Jefferson proudly loaned his copy to a contractor in 1804 with the comment, "I send you my portable edition, which I value because it is portable. It contains only the 1st book on the orders which is the essential one."

2. Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray. *The Whole Body of Ancient and Modern Architecture*. London, 1680. Translated by John Evelyn. Pages 20 and 21.

In his *Parallele de l'Architecture Antique avec la Moderne* (Paris, 1650), Fréart de Chambray compared the writings and designs of Palladio, Serlio, and eight other Renaissance architectural authors. John Evelyn's translation is unusual for its quality, and this plate and several others were used more than a century later by Thomas Jefferson in his designs for the capitals and cornices of Monticello and the University of Virginia.

NEO-PALLADIANISM AND THE FLOWERING OF ARCHITECTURAL BOOK PUBLISHING

Architectural pattern books enjoyed exceptional popularity in eighteenth-century England. The neo-Classical architecture of the period was based upon a strict set of rules, and the absence of a school to teach these rules made architectural treatises particularly useful.

The intellectual roots of neo-Palladianism are found in the writings of Alexander Pope and the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who extolled republican virtues, including the neo-Platonic ideals of order, proportion, and harmony. Since Palladio had an earlier influence on English architecture through the designs of Inigo Jones (1573-1652) and his pupil John Webb (1611-1672), the later neo-Palladianism can be traced to both an Italian and English ancestry. Burlington and his circle--William Kent, Isaac Ware, and others--espoused a rigid, formalistic interpretation of Palladio with a minimal use of detail and ornamentation, while James Gibbs (1682-1754), through his two principal books, *The Book of Architecture*, 1728, and the *Rules of Drawing*, 1732, modified the new Palladian style.

Gibbs borrowed from the late seventeenth-century tradition of Christopher Wren in such areas as church spires (see item 17), and indulged in richer detailing such as rustication and quoins.

3. Colin Campbell. *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect.* London, [1715?-1767.] Vol. 2, plates 4-7.

Colin Campbell's superb *Vitruvius Britannicus,* and Giacomo Leoni's loose translation of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura,* Venice, 1570 (Item no. 25), mark the beginning of neo-Palladianism and an unparalleled burst of architectural book publishing in eighteenth-century England. Campbell was a Scot who had probably traveled in Italy; his *Vitruvius* was the first book by a British architect to contain original plans by the author. Featured are drawings by Inigo Jones (1573-1652), who was extolled by Campbell as the father of British Palladianism. In addition, Campbell included recent designs by Sir John Vanbrugh and other English baroque architects, perhaps in order to obtain subscriptions for this work from English architectural patrons.

4. Robert Morris. *An Essay in Defense of Ancient Architecture.* London, 1728. Frontispiece.

The classical orders (columns) were key elements in the creation of harmonic proportion that was the essence of Palladian theory. The Palladian alliance of theory and practice spurred the publication of architecture books where the rules could be set forth. Robert Morris's *Essay* extols the virtues of ancient architecture and raises the issue debated throughout the century of whether modern architects could equal or surpass the ancients, a question that the British increasingly answered in the affirmative.

5. Andrea Palladio. *The Four Books of Architecture*. London, [after 1738.] Translated by Isaac Ware. Book 2, plate XXXIX.

Isaac Ware's faithful edition of Palladio was sponsored by the Earl of Burlington, who was the leader of the Palladian movement in England. Burlington purchased many of the drawings of Palladio and Inigo Jones (now in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House) and arranged for their publication by Isaac Ware (see item 26). The British were attracted to Palladio's designs for many reasons, among which were England's close ties with republican Venice, the Whigs' affinity for Palladio's villa designs, the clarity of his rules, and the high artistic level of his drawings. Thomas Jefferson used a variation of the U-shaped plan shown here for both Monticello and the University of Virginia.

6. Isaac Ware. *A Complete Body of Architecture*. London, 1756. Plate 68.

This book was intended to "serve as a library to the gentleman and the builder" with a "principal regard [to] what is necessary and useful." To achieve this objective, Isaac Ware emphasized a system of proportions based upon the proper use of Classical orders following the practices of the ancients. This plate shows that harmonic proportions were used to design not only the Classical orders, but also the facades and floor plans of buildings. Such was often the case in American colonial buildings as well; for example, the elevation and floor plan of Mt. Airy are based on a ratio of three to two (see item 14).

7. Abraham Swan. *The British Architect*. Philadelphia, 1775. Plate LXXX.

Despite its large size, this volume (first published in London in 1745) was intended for the "Learner" and for "Gentlemen of moderate fortunes." Large plates, abbreviated text, and a reasonably low price contributed to its popularity in America, particularly in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Although Swan stressed the correct use of the rules for Doric,

Ionic, and Corinthian orders, American builders turned to it for rococo designs for chimneys and doors and for its advice on staircases and carpentry.

This edition of the *British Architect* was the first architecture book published in America. Like most folio English architectural books, the Philadelphia edition was paid for by subscribers. In 1794 another edition appeared in Boston, which was the competing center for architectural publishing in eighteenth-century America.

MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

In the 1740s, rococo, Chinese, and Gothic designs appeared, although such anti-Classical styles were generally handled with Classical symmetry. In the 1750s and 1760s, Roman (and to a lesser degree Greek) ruins became the source of architectural ideas. This neo-Classical school of architecture was less interested in setting down strict rules for proportions, preferring instead to allow individual genius to determine what was pleasing.

The leading English architects such as Sir William Chambers and Robert Adam and their contemporaries studied ancient buildings in Rome and Athens, and in places further afield such as Split (Yugoslavia) and Palmyra and Baalbeck (Syria). Nonetheless, the architectural styles of Chambers and Adam were quite different. Adam accentuated lightness, movement, and contrast; William Chambers, on the other hand, favored a heavier, more chaste style. This latter trend was followed by architects such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Latrobe.

8. Sir William Chambers. *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*. London, 1759. Opp. p. [1].

Although few copies of Chambers's treatise or the Adam brothers' works came to eighteenth-century America, William Pain (Item no. 12) and Asher Benjamin (Item no. 13) borrowed extensively from both of them. This plate and the accompanying text demonstrate Chambers's belief that "Nature is the supreme and true model of imitative arts and the antique is to the architect what nature is to the painter or sculptor." Chambers held that climate, customs, and other practical considerations, along with human genius, should control the use of forms and proportions.

9. Robert Adam. *The Works in Architecture of the Late Robert and James Adam.* London, [1773]-1822. Vol. I, plate 1.

This represents the work of the most influential English architects of the second half of the eighteenth century. The Adam style favored movement, lightness, delicacy, novelty, variety, and a willingness to depart from rigid Palladian rules. Its influence, carried to America through the smaller pattern books, is apparent in the work of early Republican architects such as Samuel McIntyre in Salem, Charles Bullfinch in Boston, and John Holden Greene in Providence.

ARCHITECTURE BOOKS FOR CRAFTSMEN

Within a decade of the publication of the first English folios, various minor architects and craftsmen began to publish less expensive, usually smaller, architectural books for the use of builders, carpenters, and other craftsmen. The most prolific authors were Batty Langley and William Halfpenny, who between them produced some thirty-five titles between 1725 and 1755. Whereas the folios were often full of building plans, their smaller counterparts generally focused upon devising simpler methods for calculating the

proportions of columns and other architectural elements and providing advice on the building trades. First editions of folios were funded by subscriptions from nobility, gentlemen, and professionals, but subsequent editions and the smaller pattern books were generally paid for by booksellers and their patrons.

10. WIlliam Halfpenny. *A New and Compleat System of Architecture*. London, 1759. Plate 19.

This is one of more than twenty titles written by Halfpenny (d. 1755), a popularizer of Palladian ideas. Publishers of these smaller books indiscriminately plagiarized plates from both the Burlingtonian and Gibbsian treatises. The authors were generally minor architects or carpenters, which may have helped them relate to the primary users of their books. Here, Halfpenny provides practical information, such as estimates of the cost to build his designs.

11. Batty Langley. *The Builder's Jewel ... The First American Edition*. Charlestown, Massachusetts, [1800.] Frontispiece.

Langley's *Builder's Jewel*, first published in London in 1741, ran to fourteen British editions and this American edition of 1800. The book was intended as a "fit Size for the Pocket" of workmen and young students. Langley (1696-1751), only slightly less prolific than Halfpenny, is credited with publishing some fifteen titles between 1726 and 1750, of which the *Builder's Jewel* was the most commonly owned in America. The symbols in the plate shown here are Masonic in origin.

12. William Pain. *The Practical Builder, ... The Fourth Edition, Revised & Corrected by the Author*. Boston, 1792. Plate LXXIV.

William Pain (1730?-1790?) was the most commonly owned architectural writer in eighteenth-century America. His seven books all contain the word "builder" or "carpenter" in the title, even when Pain evoked the name of Palladio, as in his most elaborate work, *Pains British Palladio or the Builder's General Assistant*. *The Practical Builder*, originally published in 1774, followed Pain's usual format, combining plans for various domestic buildings, stairs, chimney pieces, cornices, and rules for carpentry. The book shown here is the first American edition.

13. Asher Benjamin. *The Country Builder's Assistant*. Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1797. Plates 26 and 27.

Asher Benjamin (1773-1845), the first American to write a volume on architectural design, produced seven works that reflected the changing styles of domestic buildings in early nineteenth-century New England. In his early books, Benjamin borrowed extensively from William Pain and from the designs of Charles Bullfinch, while later titles and his revised editions showed an increase of Greek Revival designs.

PATTERN BOOKS AND AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE

Architectural pattern books did not significantly influence American colonial architecture until 1750. Before that time, the most important buildings were Wren and Queen Anne in style. From 1750 to the 1780s, however, colonial gentleman architects and craftsmen incorporated what they had seen in England or in pattern books into the interior and exterior detail and, less frequently, the overall design of their buildings. The largest

recorded private collections of architectural books in America prior to the Revolution belonged to Peter Harrison (29 titles), William Byrd (20 titles), and William Buckland (13 titles), while the largest public collection was at the Library Company of Philadelphia (33 titles by 1763). With the exception of William Byrd's library, most of the volumes owned by American colonists were English in origin.

ARCHITECTS IN VIRGINIA

The names of several pre-Revolutionary Virginia architects and carpenters are known, but attributions of their work are difficult to make because many significant buildings and interiors were destroyed or damaged by war, fire, or alteration. Architectural pattern books were used to design woodwork and some exteriors.

14. William Salmon. *Palladio Londinensis; The Seventh Edition.* London, 1767. Plate XXVI.

Salmon's *Palladio*, which Helen Park lists as being the most commonly owned pattern book in the American colonies before the Revolution, was frequently used in eighteenth-century Virginia. The north and south doors to Westover estate in Virginia (ca. 1730) appear to be taken from plates 25 and 26, shown here. (These door panels can also be seen on the front door of the Nightingale-Brown house on Benefit Street in Providence.) Several mantels in the house were undoubtedly made in England, and the door frames could have been as well, if for no other reason than the frames may predate the publication of *Palladio Londinensis* in 1734. William Byrd (1674 -1744), the owner of Westover, assembled one of the largest colonial libraries, including over twenty architecture books. Befitting his status as a wealthy, English-educated gentleman, Byrd's architectural

collection included French and Italian titles, as well as the standard English volumes. However, he apparently did not own the *Palladio Londinensis*.

15. James Gibbs. *A Book of Architecture*. London, 1728. Plate 58.

The *Book of Architecture* was intended to "be of use to such Gentlemen as might be concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country." Peter Harrison, William Buckland, Thomas Jefferson, and others owned copies and the volume exercised great influence upon American eighteenth-century architecture. In 1751, John Ariss of Virginia (ca. 1725-1799) advertised his ability to build "either of the Ancient or Modern Order of the Gibbs Architect." However, historians do not know the identity of the architect who used this plate in about 1758 to design the south facade of Mt. Airy.

Gibbs's preference for heavy ornamental detail such as quoins and rustication can be seen in this plate, although prior to a fire in 1844 the dark stone was probably covered with white painted stucco. Gibbs's style was more attractive to the conservative American colonists than the academic English Palladian style, which was exemplified by Brandon plantation (see item 16).

16. Robert Morris. *Rural Architecture*. London, 1750. Plate 3.

The economy, climate, social structure, and available building materials contributed toward making the Palladian villa style attractive to colonists in the mid-atlantic and southern colonies. This plate provided a model for several mid-eighteenth-century Virginia plantations. Brandon (1765), the earliest of these estates, was probably intended to be covered in stucco, and the neo-Palladian elements of clean, rigid geometric forms organized in a staccato pattern are very evident. The architect(s) for these houses is not known, but some attribute the designs to a young Thomas Jefferson.

17. Abraham Swan. *The British Architect.* London, [1748?]. Plate LI.

George Washington made numerous additions and alterations to Mt. Vernon, often in absentia. In the 1770s Washington had several rooms remodeled and whoever was responsible mixed and matched elements from plates 50 (see item no. 20) and 51 (shown here) for the mantels in the dining room and the west parlor. For the ballroom, which was added in 1786, Washington imported an Adam-style marble mantel from England, as other wealthy colonists sometimes did. This he labelled, "too elegant and costly by far."

18. Batty Langley. *Ancient Masonry.* London, 1736. Vol. 3, plate CCCXLIX.

The two doorways in the west parlor of Mount Vernon closely follow the design from this plate.

WILLIAM BUCKLAND

George Mason brought William Buckland (1734-1774) to Virginia from England in 1755 as an indentured carpenter to design and carve Palladian-style woodwork for Mason's residence, Gunston Hall. After Buckland was freed from his indenture and provided with a glowing recommendation, he was hired in 1762 to do the woodwork (since destroyed by fire) at Mt. Airy, perhaps the grandest surviving eighteenth-century Virginia plantation (architect unknown). Buckland later moved to Annapolis, Maryland, where he and other joiners designed and carved some of the finest pre-Revolutionary woodwork.

19. Batty Langley. *Gothic architecture.* London, 1747. Plate XXXI

Buckland brought a knowledge of the latest English styles and probably a few books to Virginia, but it appears that most of his architectural library was acquired after his arrival. The interesting rear porch of Mason's relatively modest house, Gunston Hall (1755-1758), combines Gothic and classical elements, which may have been influenced by the plate shown here. Recent research indicates that this porch had a finial on the top of its roof.

20. William Halfpenny. *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste.* London, 1752. Plate 61.

Many pattern-books of "Chinese" designs were published during the 1750s. Volumes such as this one and a smaller number of Gothic design books represent a reaction against Palladian rules. In Britain the primary influence of these designs was upon garden buildings, but they were seldom put to use in America until after the Revolution, when Thomas Jefferson and others used Chinese trellis for roof parapets and stair balustrades.

The dining room at Gunston Hall has unique Chinese woodwork. Pagoda-like canopies, similar to that shown in this plate, were placed over the doors and mantel by Buckland, but were removed during a 1950s restoration because they were thought to be Victorian accretions. Except at Gunston Hall, no work by Buckland in the Gothic of Chinese style survives.

Courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design Library.

21. Abraham Swan. *The British Architect.* London, 1758. Plate L.

In 1771 Buckland moved to Annapolis, Maryland, where he designed several houses in whole or in part. Hammond Harwood House (1774) was his masterpiece, and

Abraham Swan's books were his primary sources. Buckland's skill and training as a carpenter allowed him to be freer in his use of pattern designs than the gentleman architects or less skilled carpenters of the period, as can be seen from the comparison of the plate shown here with the dining room mantel at Hammond Harwood House (see also item 17).

22. Abraham Swan. *A Collection of Designs in Architecture.* London, [1770?] Plate 42.

Books by Abraham Swan and Thomas Lightoler provided Buckland with up-to-date rococo details that he incorporated into his exquisite woodwork. In the plate and photograph shown here the elaborate scrolls end in phoenix heads. When Buckland died his estate included thirteen architecture books and an indentured woodcarver, which shows that the practice that brought Buckland to America continued until the Revolution.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson was a Renaissance man: author, scientist, politician, musician, and architect. While serving in France as Ambassador from 1784 to 1789, Jefferson admired and studied contemporary French neo-Classical buildings and Roman ruins such as the Maison Carré in Nîmes. This experience caused him to abandon Palladianism for neo-Classicism in his design of several plantations and his pride, the University of Virginia.

23. Thomas Jefferson. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* [Paris,] 1785. Titlepage.

Thomas Jefferson wrote his *Notes* in response to a set of questions about the American states posed by François Marbois, the Secretary of the French legation in

Philadelphia. Jefferson was displeased with existing Virginia architecture, and described the pleasant red brick buildings of the College of William and Mary as "rude, misshapen piles."

He put together three libraries in his lifetime, and all of them contained architecture books. The first library was destroyed by fire in 1770. The second included many French and Italian architectural authors not previously represented in American collections; in order to pay troublesome debts, Jefferson sold that library of 6,487 volumes (49 architectural titles) in 1815 to the Library of Congress, whose collection of only 3,000 volumes had been burned by the British in 1814. Jefferson's final library was more modest in scale, but he also created an extensive "want list" of future acquisitions for the University of Virginia.

This is the very rare first edition of Jefferson's *Notes*, of which only 200 copies were privately printed in Paris.

24. Robert Castell. *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated.* London, 1728. Following p. [116].

Monticello, Jefferson's villa on a hilltop near Charlottesville, Virginia, was begun before his travels in Europe. Upon his return in 1789, Jefferson greatly modified the design in order to incorporate contemporary French neo-Classical ideas. The site plan for Monticello exhibits many features from Castell's recreation of a country villa, including the Walks (b and m), the Vineyards (q) and the small ponds on the plate shown here, and creates a Palladian hierarchical integration of living quarters, service buildings, and landscape (see also item 5). Castell also shows places for Snails and Dormice, however, which Jefferson did not include at Monticello. The main building of Monticello combines English, French, and Palladian elements.

15. Giacomo Leoni. *The Architecture of A. Palladio the second edition.* London, 1721. Translated by Nicolas Dubois. Vol. 4, plate 56.

The Rotunda at the University of Virginia (1826), designed to house the college's library, is an example of Jefferson's use of a Roman building design, the Pantheon. Jefferson described the Pantheon as "dumpy," and he made it more "perfect" by raising the Rotunda sixteen feet on a plinth of steps so that a circle could be inscribed on the elevation. This added height allowed another floor to be added inside the Rotunda and the arcade which connects it to the flanking arcades and pavilions. The ensemble exemplifies Palladio's maxium that architecture should have "utility or convenience, duration [strength], and beauty."

ARCHITECTS IN RHODE ISLAND

Peter Harrison and Joseph Brown were the two most important gentleman architects in eighteenth-century Rhode Island. Harrison's neo-Palladian buildings (designed using his own architectural library as a source) were considered exceptional by European visitors. Joseph Brown, a merchant and savant, utilized three or four pattern books and the assistance of two carpenters to design several buildings in Providence during the 1770s and 1780s. In terms of architectural taste, Providence remained conservative until about 1800, when John Holden Greene began to combine Gothic and Classical elements with an Adamesque sensitivity to contrast and movement.

26. Isaac Ware. *Designs of Inigo Jones and others.* [London, ca. 1735.] Plate 43.

Peter Harrison's (1716-1775) first design as a gentleman architect was Newport's Redwood Library (1749). During trips to his native England in the 1740s Harrison

amassed a group of English Palladian architectural books and, as was to become his custom, closely followed plans from this collection in executing his designs for the library. This plate from Isaac Ware's *Designs* and a similar plate from Hoppus's *Palladio* furnished the elevation and the floor plan. British visitors considered the Redwood Library to be a unique and exemplary piece of colonial architecture.

27. Batty Langley. *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*. London, 1750. Plate CVIII.

Between 1759 and 1761 Harrison designed two churches, a synagogue, and a market. The Touro Synagogue in Newport (1759) followed the basic plan of seventeenth-century Sephardic synagogues in London and Amsterdam and utilized several of Harrison's pattern books. The upper part of the Ark is a combination of two chimney-over-mantel designs by Isaac Ware and William Kent; the lower part is taken from the plate shown here. However, the Ark that is presently in the synagogue does not correspond to the description and sketch made in 1760 by Ezra Stiles, and it has been suggested that Harrison's original Ark was replaced by the present one in 1830.

28. Colin Campbell. *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect*. London, [1715?-1767]. Vol. I, plate 16.

The Brick Market in Newport, built between 1761 and 1772, was presumably based on this plate although *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not among the twenty-nine architecture books listed in Harrison's probate inventory. Harrison left Newport in 1766 to become Collector of Customs for the Crown at New Haven. This earned him the enmity of New England patriots and his large library and collection of drawings were destroyed by the Sons of Liberty shortly after his death in 1775.

29. James Gibbs. *A Book of Architecture . The Second Edition.* London, 1739. Plate 30.

The First Baptist Church in Providence (1775) was designed by Joseph Brown and by James Summer, "Master Workman from Boston," who drew on several plates from the *Book of Architecture*. The source for the cross-section is Marylebone Church in London, and the steeple is drawn from the middle design on this plate, which was one of twelve variants for the steeple of the church of St. Martin in the Fields (1726), also in London. John Holden Greene may have used the design on the left for the steeple of the First Unitarian Church (Providence, 1814-16).

Gibbs's designs were used for churches in Boston, New Haven, New York, and Philadelphia, in part because few other pattern books available in the American colonies contained church designs until Asher Benjamin published several in *The Country Builder's Assistant* in 1797. The copy of the *Book of Architecture* now in the Providence Athenaeum may have belonged to Joseph Brown.

30. William Salmon. *Palladio Londinensis. The Third Edition.* London, 1748. Plate I.

Joseph Brown, who had designed University Hall at Brown University (1770) and his own house at 50 South Main Street (1773-74), brought his amateur career to a culmination with the design of the John Brown House, 52 Power Street (1786 to 1788). Brown was aided by a carpenter named Martin Seamans, whose copy of *Palladio Londinensis*, shown here, was the likely source for many mantels in Providence, such as those in the southwest parlor of the John Brown House and in the parlor of the Joseph Russell House (1772). This last mantle is now in the Brooklyn Museum.

31. Batty Langley. *The Builder's Compleat Assistant. The third edition.* London, 1750. Vol. 2, plate XXXVI.

The Builder's Compleat Assistant was another early eighteenth-century Palladian book used in late eighteenth-century Providence. The Providence Library, now the Athenaeum, listed a copy in its 1768 catalogue. This plate was used as a model for the front door of the John Russell House on North Main Street (1772).

32. William Pain. *The Builder's companion. The Third Edition.* London, 1769. Plate 72.

Benjamin used several books with Gothic plates to create interesting Gothic details on his otherwise Classical buildings. The four-part column with bands and cuspid arches along the frieze are from the *Builder's Companion*, and the capital is from Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture* (item 19).

33. Asher Benjamin. *The American Builder's Companion. Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.* Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1811. Plates 26 and 27.

John Holden Greene (1777-1850) designed some forty-three buildings, including two churches, a chapel, and numerous houses in Providence. His architectural sources included the work of Charles Bullfinch in Boston, and a disparate group of old and new pattern books, among which were Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (see item 29), Langley's *Gothic Architecture* (see item 19), Adam's *Works* (see item 9), and this book by Asher Benjamin. Greene frequently used the designs in the plates shown here to produce roofs and porches with strongly projecting cornices that sported interesting friezes of perforated

cushions, drops, balls, and bells. Other plates from this book were used for the overall plan, the pulpit, the decorative patterns on the ceiling, the interior and exterior columns, and various other parts of the First Unitarian Church, Providence (1814-16).

PRACTICAL GUIDES

34. Joseph Moxon. *Practical Perspective.* London, 1670.

35. William Halfpenny. *Perspective Made Easy.* London, 1731. Plate 20.

Although few engravers of architectural plates utilized the rules of perspective until the latter part of the eighteenth century when buildings began to be drawn in natural settings, instructional books had been published throughout the seventeenth century. Here, Moxon employs the technique of "pop-up" figures to clarify his explanation, while Halfpenny shows "the use of a new-invented scenographical protractor ... in taking the perspective draughts of towns, countrys, houses, and gardens, or any objects whatever."

36. John Joshua Kirby. *Dr. Brook Taylor's Method of Perspective . The Second Edition.* Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1755. Frontispiece.

This amazing illustration aptly points out the need for a knowledge of perspective in drawing.

37. Edward Hoppus. *Practical Measuring. The Seventh Edition.* London, 1765.

Books on measuring, which in seventeenth-century England were as common as architecture books, continued to be written throughout the eighteenth century. These books

were concerned with surveying, mathematics, and the use of various instruments such as the joint rule, which was also known as a sector.

38. Providence. Carpenters. *Rules for House-Carpenters Work in the Town of Providence.* Providence, 1796.

In England there was a long tradition of printed price guides for all the building trades, but in America these rule books were limited primarily to carpenters. Although printed rule books were published earlier in Boston (1774) and in Philadelphia (1786), this compilation of Providence *Rules* was begun in 1750 (probably in manuscript) and is considered the first known book of its type produced in the American colonies.

BEYOND THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

39. Albaret. *Différens Projets Relatifs au Climate et la Manière la Plus Convenable de bâtir dans les Pays Chauds.* Paris, 1776.

Albaret's book contains twenty original house plans that he considered suitable for the West Indies. This is perhaps the first design book intended specifically for building in the Americas.

40. José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro. *Discursos apresentados a meza da agricultura sobre varios objectos relativos a' cultura, e melhoramento interno do reino.* Lisbon, 1800.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese government, concerned about the backwardness of the Brazilian economy, began to encourage the translation and editing

of foreign texts that would be useful in fostering the development of industry and agriculture in its American colony.

Pinheiro, a native of Brazil, used a variety of English sources in compiling this work, which was intended to provide designs and instruction to improve and increase the efficiency of colonial agricultural practices.

The

American Tradition

An exhibition held at the John Carter Brown Library

October 15, 1991 - January 15, 1992



Providence, Rhode Island

The

American Tradition

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The John Carter Brown Library is an independently funded and administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed and manuscript materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to ca. 1825, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, facsimiles, and other works that interpret the Library's holdings.

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Preface

The John Carter Brown Library exhibition on the "American Tradition" dates back at least to 1942, during the dark days of the war against fascism, when an exhibition with that name, and incorporating many of the same books as are shown here, was mounted at the Library.

A version of the "American Tradition" was then revived in 1954, when the threat of McCarthyism to American liberties seemed to call for a return to first principles. The text of this exhibition was published at that time in a handsome pamphlet, with an introduction by the distinguished political science professor, now deceased, Clinton Rossiter.

In 1991, much that is most valuable in the American political tradition is on the ascendant globally, and this year happens also to be the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the first ten amendments to the Federal constitution, which constitutes the Bill of Rights of this country. More so than on the past two occasions, therefore, the revival of the exhibition now is a celebration of success, not a candle in the dark.

We have considerably revised the original text, to bring it into better focus and to emphasize certain features of our political tradition that were not as fully understood, even as late as 1954, as they are now.

With regard to the Bill of Rights, it cannot be emphasized too much that the absence of such a list in the Constitution as originally drawn was not the result of any lack of sympathy with the entitlement of all citizens to such rights. The case was rather that James Madison and others were opposed to an enumeration of rights in the Constitution because they feared that any enumeration could, sometime in the future, be interpreted as an actual limit on the extent of human rights. Whatever was not listed in the first ten amendments, it could then be argued, is not an inalienable right. Such is the danger of a list: it may be regarded as exhaustive.

The Bill of Rights, it was understood at the time, was an affirmation of some of the most obvious and basic rights of persons and citizens, not an exhaustive list. Inherent human rights exist prior to any government. They are not "granted" by government as a kind of favor to the people, which then can be withdrawn.

The U.S. Constitution was a progressive document for its time. Viewed from the perspective of later years, however, it was obviously flawed because of its acceptance of slavery and its exclusion of women from certain rights of citizenship. Yet the ideals that came to realization in the founding years of the U.S., after centuries of slow development going back to the ancient Greeks, were formulated with sufficient generality and abstraction to allow for continuous growth, development, and reinterpretation. In this respect the American Tradition is, ironically and happily, one of perpetual revolution.

*

The holdings of the John Carter Brown Library span the entire Western Hemisphere, from Greenland to Patagonia, for the period, roughly, between 1492 and 1825. The Library's collection is equally strong in materials from British America and Spanish America, and encompasses as well Portuguese, French, and Dutch America. At the JCB, the word "America" typically has a very broad reference. In the case of this exhibition, however, the reference is to the precious tradition on which the government of the United States is founded.

Norman Fiering
Director and Librarian

THE

AMERICAN TRADITION

An exhibition held at the John Carter Brown Library

THE BACKGROUND

1. Bible. *Interprete Sebastiano Castalione* . . . Basle, 1556.

The Bible was an important influence on the development of American political and social institutions. This Latin version printed in Basle in 1556, translated by Sebastien Castellion, a French Protestant, is appropriate as the first item in the present exhibition both as an edition of the Holy Scriptures and because it contains Castellion's celebrated plea for religious toleration, in the form of a preface addressed to Edward IV of England. Castellion's contention that the sword of the magistrate should not be called upon to enforce religious conformity was a principle that, through various channels, eventually became one of the basic tenets of the American way of life.

2. *Le bregement de toutes les estatutes . . . correctes par Guillaume Owein.* . . . [London, 1552.]

Three conceptions of secular law are basic in American political thought -- statute law, common law, and natural law. The first of these is represented here by an alphabetical handbook of acts of Parliament in abridged form, compiled in French and published in London in 1522.

3. Henry de Bracton. *Henrici de Bracton de Legibus & consuetudinibus Angliae Libri quinq* . . . London, 1569.

Henry de Bracton's treatise, composed between 1250 and 1256 and first printed in 1569, is the second and most famous of the works on the Common Law of England. The Common Law tradition also includes the later compilations and commentaries of Littleton, Coke, and Blackstone. One writer says of the English Common Law that "based on Saxon customs, moulded by Norman lawyers, and jealous of foreign systems, it is, as Bacon says, as mixed as the English language and as truly national. And, like the language, it has been taken into other English-speaking countries, and is the foundation of the law in the United States." The colonial American guarded jealously his right as a free-born Englishman to the benefits that came to him through the operation of this body of principles and procedures.
(Lent by the Brown University Library.)

4. John Locke. *Two Treatises of Government.* . . . [London], 1764.

Champions of human rights have insisted that these basic attributes of all persons are the legacy of mankind through the natural law. Thus, liberty of worship, as Roger Williams held, is not a right *granted* to men by their rulers but an inherent right *belonging* to them by natural law. All men, said the Declaration of Independence, are endowed by their Creator with the *right* to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This philosophic background, as well as the idea that government was not a natural growth in the life of a people but a social contract based upon the consent of all concerned, came to the attention of thinking men in the colonies from a number of sources, among them John Locke's *Letters on Toleration* and his *Two Treatises of Government*, first published in 1688.

5. *Conductor Generalis, or the Office, Duty and Authority of Justices of the Peace* . . . Philadelphia, 1722.

The *Conductor Generalis,* printed in Philadelphia in1722, is an American version of an ancient Anglo-Norman handbook for the guidance of non-professional justices and legal officers. Its alphabetically arranged abstracts of laws and of forms and precedents played a part in the political and social education of the colonial American. Some 140 editions of works of similar character and purpose were published in the colonies in the period 1687-1800.

6. Henry Care. *English Liberties, or the Freeborn Subject's Inheritance . . . the Sixth Edition* . . . Providence, 1774.

Several times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America, compilations of the great documents underlying the rights of Englishmen were issued. As in William Penn's *The Excellent Priviledge of Liberty & Property* (Philadelphia, 1687), so in this American reprint of Henry Care's *English Liberties*, the Magna Carta and other notable grants and statutes were printed to keep the colonial American mindful, in Penn's words, of "the birth-right of the free-born subjects of England."

7. John Hawles. *The Englishman's Right; A Dialogue between a Barrister at Law and a Juryman.* Boston, 1772.

In order that trial by jury would be maintained as a precious heritage in England and America, the rights and privileges of juries had to be continuously defended against domination by judges and pressures by interested parties. *The Englishman's Right* , first published in London in 1680, effectively served this end by means of a dialogue between a juryman and a barrister-at-law. Hawles's book was first reprinted in America at Boston in 1693.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

8. [William Strachey.] *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall &c.* London, 1612.

The first laws of the earliest permanent English settlement in what is now the United States seem to have been based upon the disciplinary prescriptions instituted by Sir Thomas Dale in 1610. These laws were put in order by William Strachey, the historian of Virginia, in 1611 and printed in London in 1612. They form a strict and rigid martial code which was imposed upon the people by their governors until the coming of Sir George Yeardley in 1619. Though it never had official sanction from the King or the Virginia Company, "Dale's Code," as it was sometimes called, seems to have been employed in Virginia as a species of police regulation for some nine years of the colony's life.

9. *"A Reporte of the manner of proceedings in the General Assembly convented at James Citty in Virginia July 30, 1619 . . ."* (In *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 2d Series, Vol.III, Pt.I, 1857.)

One of the first acts of Sir George Yeardley as governor of the Virginia colony was to call the representative assembly which the Virginia Company in London had authorized him to convene. On July 30, 1619, there met at Jamestown the first elected legislative assembly of the New World. "Dale's Code," described in the preceding entry, was abrogated, and new and realistic laws passed at this assembly by governor, council, and elected burgesses. Thus was set the pattern for the political character of the British-American colonies, and thus was determined their status as self-governing commonwealths rather than communities administered, as were the colonies of France and Spain, by appointive councils or by royal edict. The text of the journal of that session, taken from the manuscript in the Public Record Office, London, was first printed in 1857 with comment by George Bancroft, in the publication shown here.

10. Thomas Bacon, compiler. *Laws of Maryland at Large . . .* Annapolis, 1765.

The first Maryland assembly of 1637 was not an elected body but an assembly of all the freemen of the colony. One of the actions of the freemen at this time was to reject a body of laws drawn up in England by Lord Baltimore and sent to Maryland for enactment, submitting in place of it a set of laws of their own preparation. In his turn the Lord Proprietor seems to have refused assent to the laws proposed by his colonists. Neither set of laws, therefore, was ever enacted, and all that remains of those proposed by the freemen is the list of their titles. Some historians have interpreted these events as an assertion by the freemen of Maryland of their right to initiate legislation, a right that seems to have been conceded by Lord Baltimore a year or so later without further contention. Bacon's *Laws of Maryland* records the action of 1637 and lists the titles of the body of laws submitted to the Proprietor by the Maryland settlers in their popular assembly.

11. *"The Original Constitution of Connecticut, formed by voluntary compact, 1639."* (In Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut*, Hartford, 1797, Appendix III.)

The so-called "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," drawn up in 1639 by an assembly of the planters of the river towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, are remarkable in that they cite no royal or colonial authority for establishing of a government but affirm in effect that "where a people are gathered together" it becomes their right and duty to organize themselves "as one public State or Commonwealth." The essential features of the "Fundamental Orders" were incorporated in the royal charter for Connecticut of 1662. The first printing of this earliest of American written constitutions was as an appendix to Trumbull's *Complete History of Connecticut.*

12. [John Locke]. *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.* [London, 1669].

In many of its details the first Carolina constitution, drafted by John Locke, was already an anachronistic instrument at the time of its publication in 1669. Based upon feudal concepts outmoded in progressive English thought, some of its features never were adopted and the enforcement of others of its provisions remained an irritant in the life of the community until 1690 when the whole system was rejected. With all its shortcomings, however, the *Fundamental Constitutions* provided for a representative assembly (though with limited powers) and for religious toleration.

13. William Penn. *The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsilvania . . . together with certain laws . . .* [London], 1682.

The constitution for Pennsylvania as first established by William Penn emphasized religious liberty and a representative assembly. The power of initiating legislation, however, rested in the governor and council rather than in the assembly, a defect that was remedied by the charter of 1701, the more liberal provisions of which Penn introduced through collaboration with the assembly.

EARLY PLANS OF UNION

14. *"Articles of Confederation betweene the Plantations under . . . Massachusetts . . . New-Plymouth . . . Connectacutt and . . . New-Haven . . ."* (In Ebenezer Hazard, editor, *Historical Collections*, Philadelphia, 1794, Volume II, pages 1-6.)

The New England Confederation of 1643 was formed primarily for defense against the Indians. It excluded Rhode Island and the Maine settlements from its protection and proved, indeed, a rude neighbor to the colony of Roger

Williams. Such as it was, however, it contained the seed of later constitutional growth--a union of separate colonies governed by representatives from each of them. It continued to exist with slowly decreasing effectiveness until, in 1684, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled. The *"Articles of Confederation"* of this earliest American union of 1643 was first printed in Ebenezer Hazard's *Historical Collections*, 1794. A short-lived "Dominion of New England," imposed by the crown in 1685 to succeed the Confederation, came to an end with the Glorious Revolution in 1689.

15. [Charles Davenant.] *Discourses on the Publick Revenues . . . Part II.* London, 1698.

Charles Davenant's politico-economic treatise of 1698 contains the text of a plan for the union of the colonies that originated with proposals made by William Penn a year or so earlier.

16. *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America.* By an American. London, 1701.

Penn's Plan and Davenant's approval of it were sharply challenged by an anonymous Virginian who in 1701 wrote and published in London *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations.* Penn had suggested that two commissioners from each colony form the governing body of the union. His Virginian critic made a significant advance beyond Penn's Plan and the preceding plans of union with the proposal that the membership of the governing body be based upon the principle of representation in proportion to population. Louis B. Wright has suggested that the author of *An Essay* was Robert Beverley, the historian of Virginia, alone or in collaboration with the first William Byrd.

17. Daniel Coxe. *A Description of the English Province of Carolana. . . .* London, 1722.

Daniel Coxe, the proprietor of large areas in the Carolinas and elsewhere in the colonies, urged a union of the colonies for the common security, saying tersely that "A Wise Man will not stand with his Arms folded, when his Neighbours House is on Fire."

18. [Archibald Kennedy.] *The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest Considered.* New York, 1751.

By the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, the necessity for a defensive union against the French and against enemy Indians had impressed itself upon many thoughtful men in the colonies. Among the most active of these in pamphleteering was Archibald Kennedy of New York, whose plan for a union of the colonies is set forth in this work. Printed with this tract is a letter from Benjamin Franklin elaborating on Kennedy's suggestion.

19. *"Plan of a Proposed Union of the several Colonies . . . for their mutual defence & security & for extending the British Settlements in North America."* In *Proceedings of the Congress at Albany AD 1754.* Manuscript. (Pages 87-92.)

In 1754 Governor Shirley of Massachusetts called upon the colonists to send commissioners to confer at Albany for the purpose of creating an effective defense against the French and Indian menace. A commissioner from Pennsylvania at this meeting was Benjamin Franklin, who, after conferring on his way there with Archibald Kennedy and others, drew up and presented a Plan of Union which is the best remembered of all proposed pre-Revolutionary confederations.

20. Stephen Hopkins. *A True Representation of the Plan formed at Albany, for uniting all the British Northern Colonies, in order to their common Safety and Defence . . .* [*signed at end:*] Stephen Hopkins. [Newport, 1755.]

The Plan of Union proposed to the several colonies by the Albany Congress was promptly rejected by most of them. In later years, Franklin said that if it had been adopted the Revolution might not have occurred when it did, or for a century afterwards. In some places, such as in Rhode Island, consideration of the Plan became involved with local political isssues. In that colony Stephen Hopkins, a delegate to the Congress, fought in defense of the Albany plan against opponents who, in the course of a gubernatorial campaign, vigorously criticized his acquiescence in its provisions. The earliest publication in book or pamphlet form of Franklin's famous Plan of Union appears in this work by Hopkins.

21. [Henry McCulloh.] *Proposals for Uniting the English Colonies on the Continent of America . . .* London, 1757.

In a valuable analysis of this book, the late Professor Julian Boyd of Princeton attributed it to the English merchant and publicist Henry McCulloh, speculative owner of huge tracts of land in North Carolina. McCulloh's point of view in this plea for union was that of the British mercantilist rather than the British-American citizen and resident of the colonies.

THE TAXATION CONTROVERSY

22. James Otis. *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and proved . . .* Boston, 1764.

The Sugar Act of 1764 was the first of a series of laws through which Parliament levied taxes upon the colonies for the sake of revenue. The right of Parliament to impose such taxes was questioned by James Otis in this pamphlet in which he affirmed the rights of Americans based upon natural law, the Common Law of England, and acts of Parliament itself. In Otis's book, the grounds of the American position were carefully organized and boldly affirmed. Thus, by the time the Stamp Act was passed in 1765, an intelligent opposition to it, based upon profound political principles, had already come into being.

23. [Stephen Hopkins.] *The Rights of Colonies examined . . .* Providence, 1765.

This important pamphlet, brought out in 1765 in opposition to the taxation policies of Parliament, was the work of Stephen Hopkins of Providence. A reply to this tract, *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax*, by Martin Howard of Newport, led to a pamphlet war called the "Halifax Gentleman" controversy.

24. *Anno Quinto Georgii III. Regis. Cap. XII. An Act for granting and applying certtain Stamp Duties, and other Duties, in the British Colonies and Plantations in America . . .*[pages 277-310 with session title:] *Anno Regni Georgii III . . . quinto . . .* London, 1765.

The volume in which this copy of the celebrated Stamp Act of 1765 is found bears upon its covers the royal arms of King George III.

25. *La Deposition de Rene Picard . . . [signed:] Rene Picard his mark . . . 20th day of Decr 1765*. Manuscript.

This unimportant legal document was written in Quebec upon a sheet of the stamped paper that had such unexpectedly disturbing consequences in England and America. It is a specimen of the thing itself, a paper bearing the embossed stamp with the word "America". The stamp seems in design too much a thing of daintiness and beauty to have been responsible for the discord that followed its use.

26. Richard Bland. *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies . . .* (Williamsburg, 1766)

Bland's pamphlet is a classic assertion of the principle that legitimate rule requires the consent of the people, through representation in a legislature. The work was written as a rebuttal to an anonymous British pamphlet that claimed the American colonies were "virtually" represented in parliament--just as, according to this British argument, nine-tenths of the people of Britain were, who were not actually represented through voting rights. If such be the case, Bland responded, "it shows a great Defect in the present Constitution [of Britain], which has departed so much from its original Purity." Drawing from Vattel, Locke, Wollaston, and other natural law theorists, Bland recurred to fundamental principles. Concerning the power to tax, he wrote: "Power abstracted from Right cannot give a just title to Dominion. If a Man invades my Property, he becomes an Aggressor and puts himself into a State of War with me: I have a Right to oppose this Invader; if I have not Strength to repel him, I must submit, but he acquires no right to my Estate which he has usurped."

27. [Daniel Dulany, Jr.] *Considerations on the Propriety of imposing Taxes in the British Colonies* . . . North America: Printed by a North-American. [Annapolis, Jonas Green], 1765.

Possibly the most influential written protest by the Americans against the imposition of the Stamp Act was this treatise by Daniel Dulany. This is the earliest of eight English and American editions of 1765 and 1766. In his speech in the House of Commons which resulted in the repeal of the Stamp Act, William Pitt extolled Dulany's argument and read extracts from it to his hearers. In this pamphlet the question of "Taxation without Representation" came in for extended discussion and the theory of "virtual representation" was once more demolished to the satisfaction of thinking men.

28. *Proceedings of the Congress at New York . . . [colophon]* Annapolis, 1766.

The Stamp Act Congress, called by Massachusetts and convened at New York in October 1765, prepared petitions to the king and parliament and drew up for home consumption the first of the several declarations of rights which provide landmarks along the road towards independence. The only record of sessions of the Stamp Act Congress known to have been contemporaneously printed in the colonies was this edition of the *Proceedings* published at Annapolis in 1766. From it was reprinted an edition of London, 1767.

29. *Anno Sexto Georgii III. Regis Cap. XI. An Act to repeal an Act . . . Intituled, An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp Duties . . . in the British Colonies . . . in America . . . [pages 241-244 with session title:] Anno Regni Georgii III . . . sexto . . .* London, 1766.

The disturbances attendant upon the enforcement of the Stamp Act aroused British opinion so thoroughly that the law was repealed by Parliament in 1766. Here is a printed copy of the rescinding act with a manuscript showing the instrument in the form of the unamended bill in which it was first

presented to the House of Commons. In this same volume is found a copy of *An Act for the better securing the Dependency of his Majesty's Dominions in America*, the so-called "Declaratory Act," in which, in general terms, the right of Parliament to tax the colonies is so stated as to nullify the act of repeal.

30. *Annapolis, (In Maryland) June 22, 1769. We the Subscribers, his Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects; the Merchants, Traders, Freeholders, Mechanics, and other Inhabitants of the Province of Maryland . . .* [Annapolis, 1769.]

The repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by the imposition of the Townshend Acts of 1767 which laid duties upon many articles imported by the colonies. One consequence of this legislation was the creation of non-importation agreements by the merchants and leading men throughout the country. Among the small number of these agreements to appear in print was this one published in Annapolis by Anne Catharine Green, signed by forty-three persons.

31. John Dickinson. *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.* Philadelphia, 1768.

32. [Thomas Jefferson.] *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* . . . Williamsburg, [1774].

In the period between the close of the French and Indian war and the beginning of the war of the Revolution, many effective pamphlets were published by American writers affirming the rights of the colonies. Among these were John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer* and Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View*, shown respectively in the first edition of Philadelphia, 1768, and the first edition of Williamsburg, 1774. Of the two tracts, that of Dickinson was the more effective in the opinion of contemporaries, and its author, for a year or so, was possibly the most revered individual in the

colonies. Seven editions of his *Letters* came from American presses in 1768 and 1769, and three additional editions, one of them in French, were printed in London, Dublin, and Paris, respectively.

33. [James Smither. *engraver?] The Patriotic American Farmer. J-n D-k-ns-n Esqr . . . . Who with Attic Eloquence and Roman Spirit has asserted, the Liberties of the British Colonies in America . . .* [Philadelphia, 1768.] Engraved portrait.

This portrait of John Dickinson and the complimentary inscription and verse beneath it were engraved, probably, by James Smither and published as a separate print by Robert Bell, celebrated Philadelphia publisher, in October 1768. The appearance of the portrait in the same year as Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer* is another testimony to the impression made by the book upon its contemporary readers.

34. *Province of Massachusetts Bay. In the House of Representatives May 28th. 1773 . . . [at end:] A true Copy Saml Adams Clk.* Manuscript.

The extra-constitutional bodies known as the Committees of Correspondence nourished and sustained the spirit of revolution in the American colonies, establishing a principle of cooperation that became the strong core of the movement towards union. It was Samuel Adams who in November, 1772, revived the conception of the Committee of Correspondence, not then new in American history, and gave it effectiveness by causing the appointment of town committees throughout Massachusetts. Four months later the Virginia Assembly established a Committee to serve for that colony as a whole and called upon the other colonies to do likewise in order that a system of intercolonial communication might be set up and maintained. This copy in manuscript of the Massachusetts Resolutions of May, 1773, adopting the Virginia proposal and naming a Committee of fifteen members, is attested and signed by Samuel Adams.

35. *The following extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, we are induced to publish thus early purely to ease the Impatience of our Readers. ASSOCIATION, & C. . . .* Newport, [1774].

One of the earliest actions of the Continental Congress was the adoption in 1774 of the "Association," an agreement that went far beyond the non-importation agreements of 1768 and 1769. Those earlier agreements made individually by the separate colonies were concerned with non-importation alone; the "Association" was a pact made by twelve colonies in Congress assembled to observe "non-importation, non-consumption, & non-exportation" as the best measures to redress their common grievances against the British ministry.

36. *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress Held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September 1774 . . .* Philadelphia, 1774.

In addition to the "Association," the Continental Congress of September, 1774, adopted a "Declaration and Bill of Rights," an "Address to the People of Great Britain," and other instruments clearly stating the position of the colonies with regard to the issues between them and Britain at that time of constitutional crisis. These several documents were printed and issued in a volume with the general title as given in this entry. In addition to this early issue of the *Extracts* , there were printed throughout the colonies in the remaining weeks of 1774 more than twenty-five editions of this collection of notable acts and affirmations brought into being by the coming of age of American political thinking.

37. Levi Hart. *Liberty Described and Recommended in a Sermon . . . Preached in Farmington . . .* (Hartford: Eben. Watson, 1775).

Levi Hart, a Congregational minister, was particularly concerned in this pamphlet about the injustice and horror of slavery and the slave trade. He made a connection that was not always fully faced in the American colonies,

that if political liberty was an absolute right for the British colonists, why was it not a right also for black slaves in the colonies? "What inconsistence and self-contradiction is this," Hart asked. "Who can count us the true friends of liberty as long as we deal in, or publicly connive at, slavery."

38. [Thomas Paine.] *Common Sense; addressed to the Inhabitants of America* . . . Philadelphia, 1776.

Public opinion was urged further in the direction of independence by the forceful presentation of the American cause in Thomas Paine's tract, *Common Sense*. Published in January, 1776, it sold 120,000 copies in the next three months. Shown here is the first edition.

39. *The Proceedings of the Convention . . . held . . . in . . .Williamsburg . . . the 6th of May, 1776.* Williamsburg, [1776].

On June 12, 1776, the Virginia Convention adopted what has come to be known as the "Virginia Declaration of Rights," an instrument composed by George Mason, which had a major influence on the articulation of the statements of human rights that came later, including the Declaration of Independence, the Bills of Rights of other states, and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" of the French Revolutionaries. The Virginia "Declaration of Rights" is printed in the *Proceedings* of this Convention under June 12, 1776, and under the date of May 15, 1776 is found the Virginia "Resolutions of Independence."

40. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled . . . [at end:] John Hancock, President* . . . Newport, June 13, 1776.

This first of two broadside editions of the Declaration of Independence issued in Rhode Island in 1776 was misdated by the printer "June 13" instead of July 13. A second Newport edition has added to it the Assembly's order that the

Declaration be proclaimed in Newport and Providence in the presence of the militia with accompanying cannon and musketry salutes. In his *Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence*, (19--) Michael J. Walsh lists nineteen editions printed in 1776 of the notable document in which was crystallized the unrest of the 170 years of American political life that preceded it.

41. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America; in General Congress assembled . . . [at end:] John Hancock, President.* [London, 1776?]

This edition of the Declaration of Independence is believed to have been published in England, though we may not say this with certainty. The portrait of John Hancock at the top is after a mezzotint known to have been published in London in October, 1775. The broadside is bound in a volume of *The Crisis*, an English liberal journal that strongly supported the American cause.

THE CONSTITUTIONS

42. [John Adams], *Thoughts on Government Applicable to the Present State of the American Colonies . . .* (Philiadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776)

The question of how best to organize a true republic, a people without kings and nobility, so as to ensure both justice and liberty was a matter of the utmost importance in 1776 as the former British colonies cut themselves loose from the imperial order. No American threw himself more earnestly or brilliantly into the question than John Adams, whose contributions as both a practical leader and theorist were immense. In this little pamphlet, Adams forcefully argued for the principle of checks and balances, whereby the separated "powers"of government--legislative, judicial, and executive--are prevented from combining forces in oppression. He argues also for a

complex legislature, one made up of at least two houses, if not three, for the same purpose: preventing the exercise of unlawful power.

43. *The Constitution of the Common-wealth of Pennsylvania, as established . . . July 15th, 1776 . . . to September 28, 1776.* Philadelphia, 1776.

44. *The Constitution of the State of New-York.* Fish-Kill, 1777.

45. *Ordinances passed at a General Convention of Delegates and Representatives . . . of Virginia . . . the 6th of May . . . 1776.* Williamsburg, [1776].

On May 10, 1776, the Continental Congress recommended to the states that each of them proceed to the establishment of a republican form of government. Shown here are the first editions of the Pennsylvania and New York constitutions, and an early edition of the Virginia constitution in a volume entitled *Ordinances passed at a General Convention . . .*, printed in Williamsburg in 1776. The individual state constitutions were eagerly read in France and elsewhere in Europe.

46. *A Constitution or Frame of Government, Agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the State of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1780).

Massachusetts was the last of the states to adopt a republican constitution, but the result was widely considered to be excellent. Drafted by John Adams, it had a major influence on the framing of the federal Constitution, and remarkably, it is still in use today, although extensively amended over the years.

Aside from its particular provisions, the very framing of the Massachusetts constitution embodied an entirely new idea in the processes of republican

government, namely that of the "constituent assembly." A constituent assembly is elected by the people for the sole purpose of creating a structure of government, and must be kept distinct from the legislature. As in the case of the Convention that created the federal government of the United States, after the constitutent assembly has done its work, it dissolves completely, and the legislature or congress that is established as a result of the work of the assembly is empowered to make laws but not to alter the fundamental document created by the constituent assembly. The basic principles of free government are thus protected against the passing whims, interests, or fashions of lawmakers from year to year.

47. *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of [names of thirteen colonies].* Lancaster, 1777.

Realizing that a greater degree of unity among the revolutionary colonies must be brought about, the Continental Congress in 1777 proposed a formal confederation which was ratified in 1781. The country functioned under this confederation until the Constitution became effective in 1789. Congress was sitting at York, Pennsylvania, when this "firm league of friendship" was formed, and its visible instrument, the *Articles of Confederation*, was taken to the nearby town of Lancaster for printing. This copy is signed and attested in longhand by Henry Laurens, President of the Congress.

48. *Articles de confédération perpétuelles entre les Etats de [names of thirteen colonies]* . . . [Paris], 1776.

This edition in French of the *Articles of Confederation* was an unauthorized publication of the proposed articles, with a note on the title-page that stated, incorrectly, that ratification of the instrument had already occurred. Though the circumstances have not been explained, this edition is, nevertheless, of considerable interest as being the earliest printing for unrestricted distribution of the first of our federal constitutions. This copy and one in the Bibliothéque Nationale seem to be the only ones recorded.

49. George Washington. *A Circular Letter from His Excellency George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America; Addressed to the Governors of the several States, on his resigning the Command of the Army* . . . London, [1783]. Broadside.

Between the victory of Yorktown in October 1781, and the Definitive Treaty of 1783, the Continental Army went through a period of uncertainty, prolonged idleness under arms, and apparent neglect by Congress. A part of this time was spent in cantonments at Newburgh, New York. It was in this period and at this place that Washington was at his noblest, showing himself truly to be First in Peace as previously he had been First in War. It was at Newburgh that Washington blasted indignantly the proposal that the country be made a monarchy with him as king, and it was here that by sympathy, firmness, and lofty eloquence he destroyed a conspiracy that came dangerously close to a mutiny of his officers against the Congress. Finally, it was from Newburgh that in 1783 he sent his *Circular Letter* to the governors of all the states, pleading the cause of the officers and laying down political principles which make of the communication a state paper hardly less important than his Farewell Address of thirteen years later.

50. *Virginia. In the House of Delegates, January 13, 1786. Resolved that the damages on foreign bills of Exchange, protested, ought to be the same in this state and the state of Maryland . . . John Beckley.* C.H.D. [Richmond? 1786.]

The Constitutional Convention that led to the present U.S. Constitution came into being following upon a recommendation of a group of delegates from six states who met at Annapolis in September 1786, at the suggestion of Virginia. This inauspicuous broadside contains a resolution by the Virginia House of Delegates to the effect that commissioners from all the states should meet to adopt uniformity in commercial regulations. The copy shown is attested in longhand by John Beckley and attached to a letter in longhand in which Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, conveyed the invitation to the governors of all the states. The result was the meeting which is remembered

as the "Annapolis Convention". It was at the so-called "Annapolis Coonvention" that the decision was made to meet the next year to consider a full range of deeper and broader issues than problems of commerce alone.

51. *We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution . . . [at end:] George Washington, President* . . . [Philadelphia, 1787.]

This is the simple and economical edition of the Constitution in the form in which it was officially distributed to the states for ratification according to the action of the Congress set forth on its last page. This copy is signed in longhand by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress. More than thirty editions of the proposed Constitution were published in the thirteen states in 1787.

52. *The Federalist: a Collection of Essays, written in Favour of the new Constitution, as agreed upon . . . September 17, 1787. In Two Volumes . . .* New-York, 1788.

Most influential among the many political writings designed to ensure the ratification of the Constitution was this group of essays by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. These notable essays were originally published after the conclusion of the Convention as a series of newspaper articles under the pseudonym "Publius". They were first collected and published in book form with the present celebrated title in New York in 1788.

53. *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of North-Carolina, convened . . . the 21st Day of July, 1788 . . . for . . . deliberating . . . on the Constitution recommended . . . at Philadelphia, the 17th Day of September, 1787 . . .* Edenton, 1789.

Differences of opinion manifested themselves in the state conventions on the subject of the ratification of the Constitution. This journal of the North Carolina convention is a record of discussions and deliberations typical of those that occurred everywhere before the new plan of government became effective through the agreement of nine of the states. Actually North Carolina did not ratify until several months after the new government went into effect on March 4, 1789.

54. *The Bill of Rights, and Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as Agreed to by the Convention of the State of Rhode-Island* (Providence, [R.I.], 1790)

Rhode Islanders were generally opposed to the new federal Constitution of 1787, out of concern that the union would in the end diminish the autonomy of the smaller states in favor of the larger and more powerful states. But the citizens of Rhode Island also objected to the absence of a bill of rights in the Constitution. At the ratifying convention held in Rhode Island in 1790, which resulted in acceptance of the Constitution by the state and membership in the union--the last state to join--the delegates proposed a set of amendments that itemized the rights of citizens, in particular the right of religious liberty.

55. *Amendments proposed to be added to the Federal Constitution by the Congress of the United States . . . the fourth day of March . . . M,DCC,LXXXIX.* Boston, 1790.

The Constitution was not perfected until Congress yielded to the demands of many who felt that the original instrument had not sufficiently emphasized

certain broad general rights of the people under the common law. Twelve amendments were proposed which, after reduction to ten, were ratified by the states in 1791 and appended to the constitution. Because of their fundamental character this group of amendments has come to be known as the"Bill of Rights." It embodies a statement of freedom of worship, freedom of speech and the press, the right of assembly, the right of petition, the right to bear arms, security against the quartering of troops, security against unreasonable search and seizure, right to due process of law, and a firm assertion of the sovereignty of the people.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Freedom of the Press

56. Thomas Maule. *Truth held Forth, and maintained . . . With some Account of the Judgments of the Lord lately inflicted upon New-England by Witch craft* . . . [New York], 1695.

57. Thomas Maule. *New-England Pe[r]secutors Mauld with their own Weapons* . . . [New York, 1697.]

In his *Truth held Forth* printed in New York in 1695, Thomas Maule, a Salem Quaker, attacked the Massachusetts authorities for their persecution of the Quakers and for the conduct of the witchcraft trials of 1692. After his book had been burned by the hangman he was brought to trial for its publication. Contrary to the instructions of the court, the Salem jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. Maule's own account of his trial is found in the work bearing the felicitous punning title *New England Pe[r]secutors Mauld with their own Weapons*. In *Thomas Maule, the Salem Quaker*, Matt Bushnell Jones wrote that Maule's trial "raised equally with that of Zenger the question of the right of a man to print and publish a criticism of government."

58. *The tryal of John Peter Zenger, of New-York, Printer, who was lately Try'd and Acquitted for Printing and Publishing a Libel against the Government . . . The Second Edition.* London, 1738.

The best remembered of American incidents in the struggle for the freedom of the press occurred when in 1735 the Council of the Colony of New York brought to trial the printer John Peter Zenger, upon a charge of libel. As a result of Zenger's trial, "the liberty of the press," wrote his biographer, "was secure from assault and the people became equipped with the most powerful weapon . . . the right of freely criticizing the conduct of public men." The case of Zenger aroused widespread and prolonged interest. Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary* . . . records seven editions of the trial or accounts of it in New York and London in the period 1736-1738, and seven between 1750 and 1799.

59. [William Goddard.] *The Prowess of the Whig Club and the Manoeuvres of Legion* . . . Baltimore, [1777].

The dissatisfaction of neighbors with the action and policies of a printer can affect his business as powerfully as governmental interference. The Whig Club of Baltimore twice mobbed William Goddard, publisher of the *Maryland Journal*, for what were incorrectly regarded as defeatist articles published in his paper in the dark days of the Revolution. In both instances Goddard was protected and his persecutors restrained by the Maryland Assembly, which had recently proclaimed the liberty of the press in its Declaration of Rights. Goddard's account of the first of these episodes, in the course of which he had been ordered to "leave this Town by twelve o'clock to-morrow morning," was published in this volume. The notice delivered to him said that failure to obey would subject him "to the resentment of a LEGION." The Library owns also the manuscript of an unpublished second part of the book in which the story is continued by the angry but triumphant printer.

60. *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia: begun and held at the Capitol . . . the third Day of December, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Eight.* Richmond, 1798 [1799].

The passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, with their restrictions upon freedom of speech and their tendency towards centralization of power in the federal government, aroused such strong opposition as to cause eventually the downfall of the Federalist party. The most notable protests against those laws were the "Virginia Resolutions," written by James Madison, and the "Kentucky Resolutions," written by Thomas Jefferson. The text of the Virginia document was printed at large in the Assembly Journal under date of December 21, 1798.

61. Legislature of Kentucky. *In the House of Representatives, November 10th, 1798* . . . [Frankfort, Kentucky, 1798.]

Even before the adoption of James Madison's "Virginia Resolutions," the legislature of Kentucky on November 10, 1798, had adopted what became known as the "Kentucky Resolutions," the work, secretly accomplished, of Thomas Jefferson. The single sheet published at Frankfort, Kentucky, was one of the earliest appearances in print of the "Resolutions." This copy was sent by John Breckenridge, sponsor of the "Resolutions" in the Kentucky Legislature, to Henry Tazewell, United States Senator from Virginia.

62. Thomas Cooper. *Political Essays, originally inserted in the Northumberland Gazette* . . . Northumberland [Pennsylvania], 1799.

63. Thomas Cooper. *An Account of the Trial of Thomas Cooper, of Northumberland; on a Charge of Libel against the President of the United States* . . . Philadelphia, April 1800.

Of the cases of ten individuals fined and imprisoned under the clause in the Sedition Act directed against libeling the government or the President, the most notable was that of Thomas Cooper, whose *Political Essays* of 1799 brought about the conviction recorded in *An Account of the Trial of Thomas Cooper*. (Philadelphia, 1800).

64. [Benjamin Franklin Bache.] *Truth Will Out! The foul Charges of the Tories against the Editor of the Aurora* . . . [Philadelphia, 1798.]

Another of those arrested under the Sedition Act was Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin. *Truth Will Out!* is Bache's protest against his arrest. These cases were regarded by the defendants as tests of the declaration in the Federal Bill of Rights that Congress should make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Freedom of Worship

65. [Roger Williams.] *The Bloudy Tenent, of Persecution, for cause of Conscience* . . . [London], 1644.

In this the most famous of his writings, Roger Williams sturdily maintained his conviction that religion must be protected from any kind of intrusion from the state. This principle was already established in Rhode Island, which Williams founded.

66. John Langford. *A just and cleere Refutation of a false and scandalous Pamphlet, Entituled, Babylons fall in Maryland, &c. . . . To which is added a Law in Maryland concerning Religion* . . . London, 1655.

The policy of religious toleration affirmed by Lord Baltimore in 1634 in his letter of instruction to his first Governor, and the enforcement of that policy with good results, led naturally to the passage in 1649 of the famous Maryland Toleration Act, an instrument based upon no profound philosophical theories of the natural rights of man but upon the idea of religious freedom as a practical measure in maintaining peace and amity within the community. "A Law of Maryland concerning Religion" appeared in its first printed form as an element in John Langford's *Just and cleere Refutation* of London, 1655.

67. *The Charter Granted by His Majesty King Charles the Second, to the Colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations in America..* Newport, 1730.

The ideas of Roger Williams, John Clarke, and others in Rhode Island concerning the separation of Church and state found embodiment in the Charter granted the Colony by Charles II in 1663. The authors state in effect their desire to continue in Rhode Island the "lively Experiment" begun there nearly a generation earlier, namely, "That a most Flourishing Civil State, may stand, and best be Maintained . . . With a full Liberty in Religious Concernments." This edition of the Charter, the first in print, was brought out in Newport by James Franklin, brother of Benjamin, in 1730.

68. Daniel Dulany, *the Elder. A Letter from Daniel Dulany, Esq; to the Reverend Mr. Jacob Henderson in Answer to Mr. Henderson's printed Letter, dated September 23, 1731* . . . Annapolis, 1732.

69. Richard Bland. *A Letter to the Clergy of Virginia* . . . Williamsburg, 1760.

In both Maryland and Virginia the tax of thirty or forty pounds of tobacco per poll for the support of the local clergy of the Church of England kept alive resentment against that religious body until it was automatically disestablished in those colonies by the Revolution. Two memorable controversies arising from this situation are represented by the elder Daniel Dulany's *Letter* and Richard Bland's *Letter to the Clergy of Virginia* published twenty-eight years later.

70. *"An Act for establishing Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia in the beginning of the year 1786."* (In Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* . . . London, 1787, pages 379-382.)

One of the strongest elements in the liberalism of Thomas Jefferson was his passionately held belief that "our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions." It was his wish that his epitaph should perpetuate his memory as the author of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in addition to his achievements as author of the Declaration of American Independence and founder of the University of Virginia. The text of that celebrated statute of 1786, "An Act for establishing Religious Freedom," was given wide circulation through its publication as Appendix No. III in the later editions of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

71. *An Address from the Roman Catholics of America, to George Washington, Esq. President of the United States.* London, 1790.

The Federal Constitution provided that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States," but there remained at the time of this *Address from the Roman Catholics of America* three states in which members of that faith were excluded from holding public office. In most instances, the new state

constitutions, brought into being by the Revolution, did give full and equal rights to all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation. Roman Catholics were resented and feared longer than circumstances warranted because they professed the faith of the surrounding enemies, France and Spain.

THE WESTERN LANDS AND THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

72. *Journals of Congress, Containing the Proceedings from January 1, 1779, to January 1, 1780 . . . Volume V.* Philadelphia, 1782.

The rights of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, the Carolinas, and Georgia to western territory under the terms of their original royal charters or Indian grants were successfully contested by smaller states which could not make similar claims. They refused to ratify the "Articles of Confederation" until, through a cession of the western lands, or a promise of it, to the general government, there should be created the principle of the "Public Domain." An important statement of the point of view of the smaller states is found in the "Instructions" to the Maryland delegates to Congress adopted by the Maryland Assembly on December 15, 1778. This instrument is printed in the *Journals of Congress* under the date of May 21, 1779.

73. *By the United States in Congress Assembled, April 23, 1784. Resolved, that so much of the territory ceded, or to be ceded by individual strtates, to the United States . . . shall be divided into distinct states in the following manner . . .* [New York, 1785.]

The cession, or qualified, agreement of cession, of their western lands by the seven states concerned opened the way to the passage by Congress on April 23, 1784 of Jefferson's ordinance providing for the division into states of the public domain thus formed. Any new decision of territory created under the terms of the Jefferson ordinance would be entitled to statehood in the union as soon as it should possess "of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one, the least numerous, of the thirteen original states." Appended to the

Jefferson ordinance under date of May 20, 1785, is "An Ordinance for ascertaining the Mode of disposing of Lands in the Western Territory." This copy of the Jefferson ordinance is signed by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.

74. *An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio* . . . [New York, 1787.]

The celebrated "Northwest Ordinance," passed July 13, 1787, provided a governmental framework or constitution for the territories ceded or soon to be ceded to the people as public domain. It ensured that the expansion of the U. S. would be in accordance with the democratic principles adopted by the original thirteen colonies. This official copy of the "Northwest Ordinance" is signed by Charles Thomson, as Secretary of Congress.

75. Thomas Hutchins. *Plat of the Seven Ranges of Townships being Part of the Territory of the United States N.W. of the River Ohio which by a late act of Congress are directed to be sold* . . . [Philadelphia, n.d.]

The first application of the mode of surveying and dividing lands provided for in the Ordinance of 1787 is shown in the celebrated Hutchins map of the *Seven Ranges of Townships* published some seven years after the death of its maker. The map was originally printed and copyrighted in September, 1796. The specimen of it entered here is an impression from the same plate, found in Mathew Carey's *General Atlas* of Philadelphia, 1814.

THE CARTOGRAPHICAL PICTURE

76. Nicolas Joannes Visscher. *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae nec non Partis Virginiae Tabula* . . . [Amsterdam, c. 1650.]

The experiments in living which form the subject of our exhibition had their beginning in the group of scattered and dangerously isolated English colonies shown in the Visscher map, *Novi Belgii*, of about the year 1650. North of New England were the French in Canada; to the southward that group was effectively separated from the Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia by the Dutch on the Hudson and Delaware rivers. South of the Chesapeake colonies was the perpetual menace of the Spanish in Florida.

77. *A New Description of Carolina. Francis Lamb, sculp. [London], Thomas Basset and Richard Chiswell, [c. 1676].*

With the establishment of Carolina in 1663, the coastline of the colonies, as shown in the Basset and Chiswell map, was extended from the Chesapeake to Florida, embodying the coasts of what are now North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the meantime, through the conquest of the Dutch, all the territory between New England and Maryland had become English.

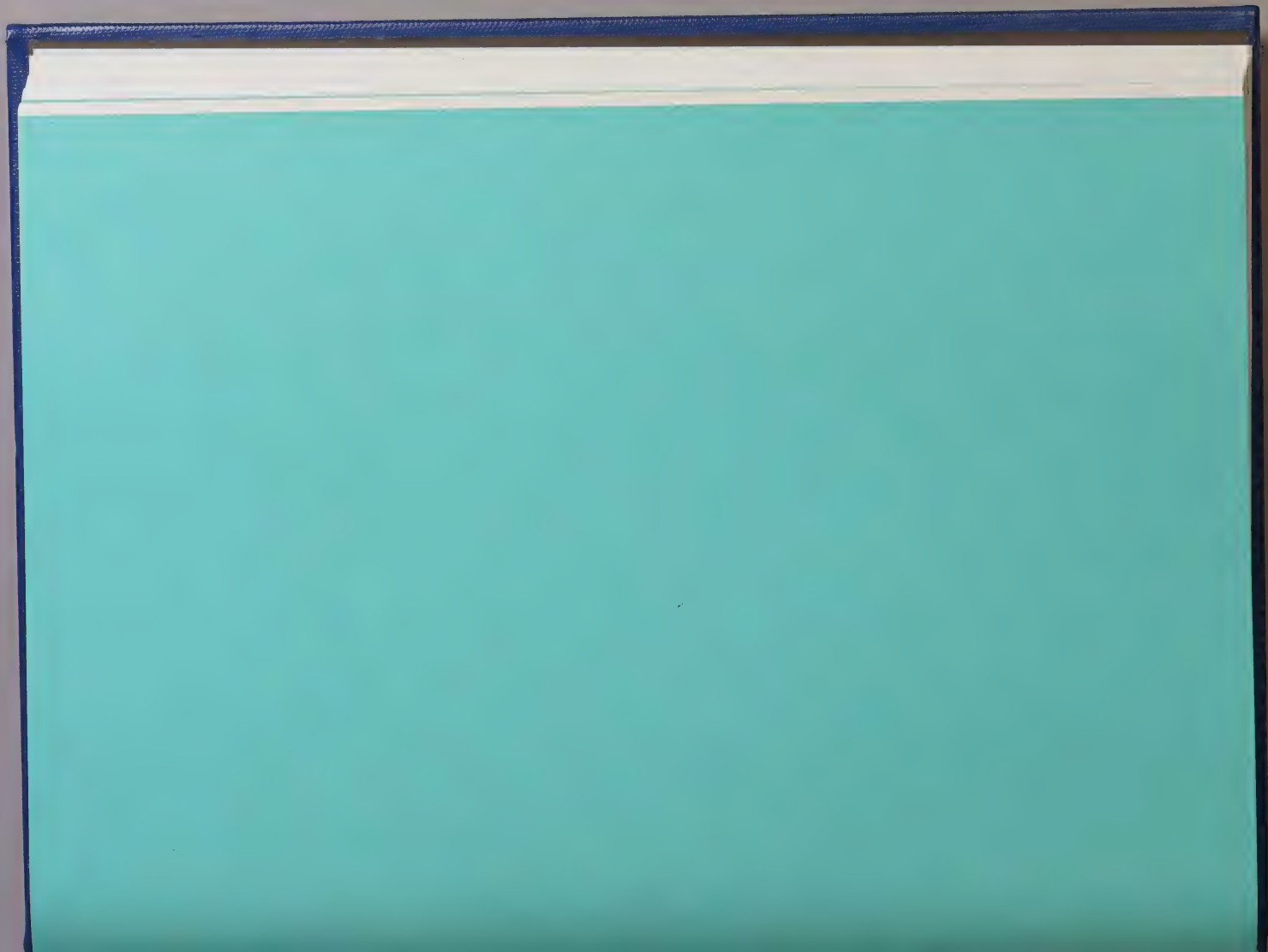
78. Herman Moll. *A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on the Continent of North America* . . . [London], 1715 [revised issue, c.1732].

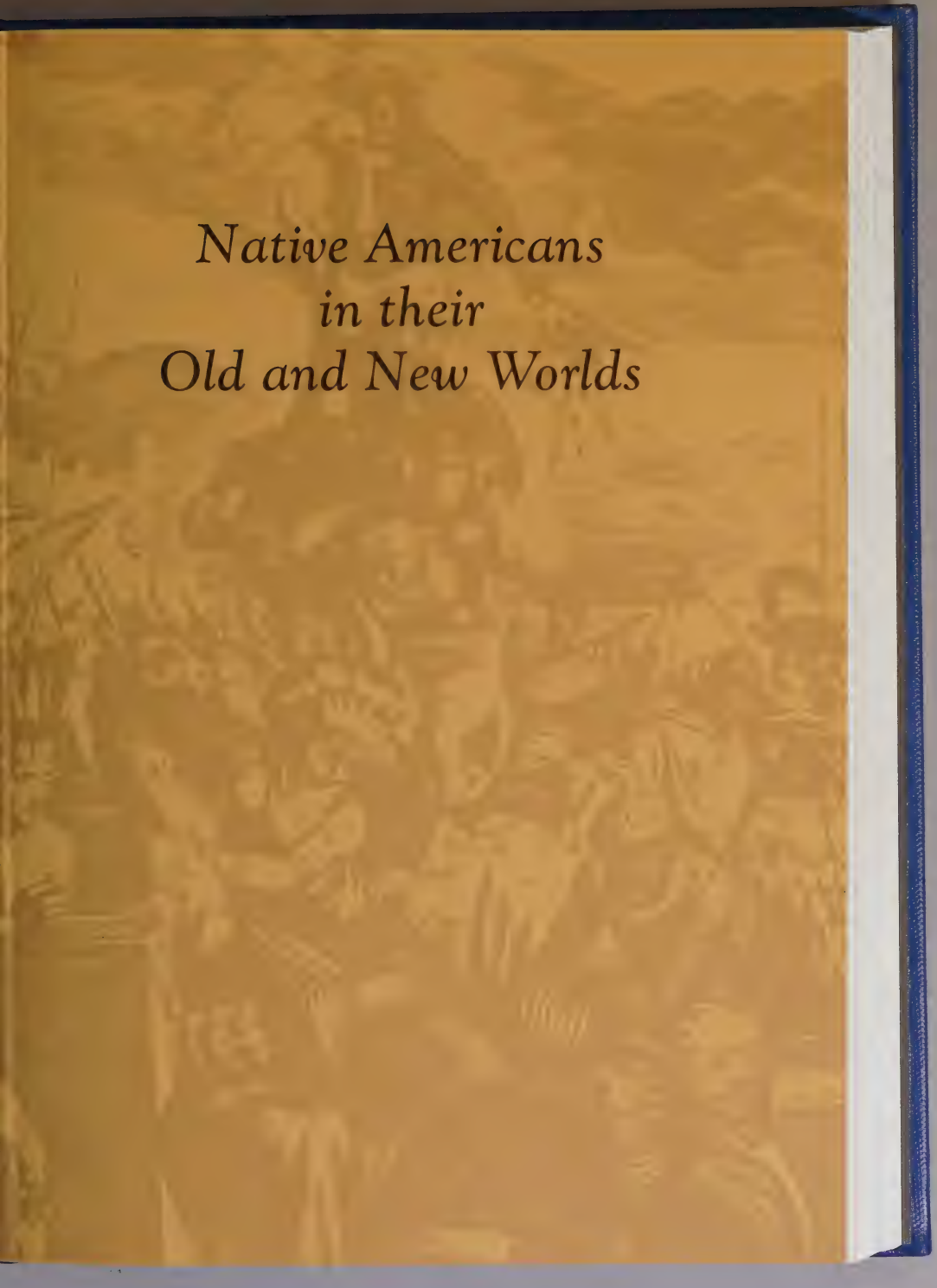
Herman Moll's map of 1715 was revised, after the establishment of Georgia in 1732, to show upon the inset in the lower left-hand corner, the location of the new buffer colony. Henceforth, until the reduction of Canada in the French and Indian war, this long and narrow fringe of separate commonwealths along the Atlantic coast--encircled north, west, and south by

French and Spanish--was the scene of the growth and development of the American Tradition.

79. William McMurray. *The United States According to the Definitive Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, Septr. 3d. 1783 . . . R. Scot sculp.* [Philadelphia, 1784.]

The second map of the independent colonies that was produced in America was William McMurray's *The United States*, published in Philadelphia in December, 1784. This shows the new nation established by the Peace of 1783. Upon it are laid down the ten new states proposed in Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784. The still unresolved question of ownership of the western lands is suggested by the absence of western boundaries for Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and New York. The picture presented by McMurray's map is that of a country unified and victorious, prepared to set about the great western expansion of the ensuing few decades.




Native Americans
in their
Old and New Worlds

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An exhibition held at the John Carter Brown Library

February 3, 1992-May 1, 1992

Prepared by

Daniel J. Slive



The John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island

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"Here you will see many things of the ocean, great countries, vast seas; you will learn of hitherto unknown languages, and of golden ages, and of nude nations free from the corrupting influence of money; of the torrid zone, fertile in precious stones and gold,--respect the venerable antiquity."

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo . . . decades.* (1516)

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The English translation of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega is from:
Regina Harrison. *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989.

Native Americans

in their

Old and New Worlds

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the colonial period, the natives of the New World were viewed by Europeans as literally and figuratively outsiders: aliens existing beyond both the physical and psychological boundaries of civilization as defined from an Old World perspective. Whether portrayed as innocents in paradise or savage beasts in a corrupt land, Indians were seen as undeveloped creatures living without established European standards of reason.

Some French observers held to the view, for example, that native Americans were "sans roy, sans loy, sans foy" (without king, without law, without faith). As further exploration, settlement, and evangelization continued, additional knowledge regarding the diversity of the indigenous populations and their social and religious practices was received in Europe. Although the French conception of the Indians was soon contradicted (for instance, by the highly developed Aztec and Inca civilizations), Amerindian religious and social structures were still not regarded as equivalent to their European counterparts. While an increase in knowledge concerning various native societies moderated some of the more extreme perceptions of the natives by European writers and illustrators, the portrayal of Amerindians as exotic Other remained.

Maintaining the vision of the Indian as the Other was essential for Europeans interested in colonization. If the native populations were savages, the Conquest and the installation of European political, religious, and economic structures would be justified. The continued reliance on the image of the Indian as existing beyond the structures of civilization was also related to the constant problem of how to communicate the realities of the New World and its inhabitants to the Old World. Firsthand observers were often limited by their ability to define America only in terms of European experience. In addition, authors and illustrators, as well as their audiences, had their own preconceptions of exotic places and inhabitants. These expectations limited the manner in which foreigners could be described: discussions of that which was alien still had to be comprehensible. This tension

between primary information from America and the ability to translate this knowledge into understandable written and visual forms for Europeans would surface repeatedly during the colonial period.

Amerindians, certainly as much as the authors and artists who attempted to portray them, also found themselves caught between two worlds. While still geographically situated in the lands of their ancestors, their social and psychic worlds were in the process of being replaced with the structures of European colonialism; they were to live in worlds literally turned upside down. While the books and illustrations displayed here present information about the native populations in their Old and New Worlds, these materials also offer insights about the Europeans who created, published, and read them.

I. FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND EARLY ENCOUNTERS

Initial attempts by Europeans to describe the inhabitants of the New World were often based on existing representations of peoples from distant lands. Sources for these portrayals included classical mythology, contemporary folklore, and medieval travel writing such as that attributed to Sir John Mandeville. These perceptions based on known models for the exotic foreigner produced two contradictory types: inhabitants of the New World as innocents in paradise or as human monstrosities and barbarians. What these two contrasting depictions had in common was the definition of the natives as living outside the known and acceptable borders of civilization. Even as more firsthand accounts from America became available during the sixteenth century, the portrayal of the Indians was still generally limited to these stereotypes.

*

1. Cristopher Columbus. *Epistola . . . de insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inventis.* [Rome: S. Plannck, 1493].

The earliest printed account of the New World and its native population was Columbus's Letter describing his first voyage. The explorer wrote this account during his return trip to Spain in February of 1493. It was received by the Spanish sovereigns, manuscript transcriptions were made, and a copy was printed in Spanish in Barcelona in April 1493. A Latin translation was soon prepared and sent to Rome where it was printed the following month, becoming the publication which informed Europe of the results and potential of Columbus's journey. The report appeared in nine Latin editions as well as a German and an Italian verse adaptation before 1500.

The Letter was no doubt directed to the Spanish monarchy with the hopes of receiving funds for future voyages. After noting the existence of spices and gold, Columbus writes of the natives in terms that would be most pleasing to royal sponsors considering overseas colonization. He describes the indigenous

population as extremely timid, without firearms, and lacking government. Those Columbus met seemed to him straightforward, trustworthy, and "most liberal with all that they have; none of them denies to the asker anything that he possesses; on the contrary they themselves invite us to ask for it."

Along with the search for riches and a maritime passage to Asia, Columbus also expressed concern for the future evangelization of the inhabitants he encountered. The explorer judged the prospects for converting the natives to Christianity to be quite good: "In all the islands there is no difference in the appearance of the people, nor in their habits or language; on the contrary, they all understand each other, which circumstance is most useful to that end which I think our most serene sovereigns especially desire, namely, their conversion to the holy faith of Christ, to which indeed as far as I could see they are readily submissive and inclined."

*

2. Amerigo Vespucci. *Be [i.e.: De] ora antarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inventa.* Strassburg: M. Hupfuff, 1505.

Vespucci made three voyages to the New World. The first was in 1499 on a Spanish ship. This was followed by two Portuguese expeditions in 1501-1502 and one more in 1503. The report of his second voyage, during which he explored the coast of Brazil for hundreds of miles, was widely circulated throughout Europe. Within four years, it was published in twenty-eight editions. Readers were not only attracted to news of the New World but also to the vivid and detailed accounts of the cannibalism and the sexual mores of the indigenous population.

On the title page are two woodcuts based on details from the text. Four natives are shown in the upper illustration, "all of them, of both sexes, go naked, covering no parts of their bodies, as they issued from their mothers' wombs and as they will eventually die." In the lower woodcut are five vessels: the three with sails represent the Europeans' ships and the two without sails perhaps depict native boats.

*

3. Amerigo Vespucci. *Van de nieuwer werelt oft landtscap.* Antwerp: J. van Doesborch, [1506-1507].

The idea of a society composed entirely of women, who allowed no men in their country and occupied themselves with hunting and battle, can be traced to the Greek myth of the Amazons. This concept was given new life in a new locale with Vespucci's description of exotic natives and customs, including a tribe of female warriors. This Dutch edition, with woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair, is the only known surviving copy.

*

4. Pamphili Eusebius. *Chronicon.* Paris: E. & J. Bade, 1512.

Contact between Amerindians and Europeans occurred in the Old World as well as the New. Natives were brought back to Europe under a variety of circumstances: as curiosities, as potential guides and interpreters for future voyages, and as prisoners to be sold as slaves. In this text of historical events, arranged in chronological order, is a passage for the year 1509 referring to natives taken from Canada to France by Captain Thomas Aubert. The Indians were described as being "wild men brought from that island (which is called Terra Nova) to Rouen, with their canoe, clothing, and arms. They are of a sooty color, with thick lips, and bearing marks on the face drawn like blue veins along the cheek-bones from the ear to the middle of the chin . . . They form a dialect with the lips; religion they have none . . . Their food: broiled flesh; drink: water. Of bread and wine and money they have not the least use."

*

5. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *De orbe novo . . . decades.* Alcalá de Henares: A.G. de Brocar, for A. de Nebrija, 1516.

The vision of America as a world inhabited by innocent people living in a land akin to the Garden of Eden was expressed by Anghiera, also known in English as Peter Martyr. A member of the Council of the Indies and the first official chronicler of the New World, the author wrote that the natives "seem to live in that golden world of which old writers speak so much, wherein men lived simply and innocently without quarrelling, judges and libel, content only to satisfy nature."

*

6. Sir Thomas More. *De optimo repu. statu, deque nova insula Utopia .* Basel: J. Froben, 1518.

More's *Utopia*, situated on an island supposedly near those discovered by Vespucci, depicts an ideal state in which all human miseries have been eradicated in a well-ordered society. Rather than documenting native life in the new found lands, however, the author created the New World setting as a device for indirectly criticizing the evils found in European society. By describing, for instance, the material benefits (such as food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and education) available to all the inhabitants of Utopia, More provided both an indictment of the impoverishment of many Europeans and a plan for a better and more equitable society.

*

7. Hernán Cortés. *La preclara narratione . . . della Nuova Hispagna.* Venice: B. Vercellensis, for G.B. Pederzano, 1524.

The conquest of Mexico not only revealed the incredible wealth to be found in the New World, but also a civilization with a political, economic, social, and religious organization quite different from the native Caribbean societies previously encountered. The marvels and riches of the Aztec empire, as well as the tale of its overthrow, were described by Cortés in his written reports to Emperor Charles V, three of which were published in fourteen editions between 1522 and 1532. This first Italian edition of the second and third letters covers events in Mexico through May 22, 1522, including Cortes's advance into Mexico and the destruction of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan.

The earliest known map of an American city is this plan of Tenochtitlan, attributed to Albrecht Dürer, which shows the city's design before the Spanish conquest. Major religious buildings in the main square are indicated, as are causeways that connected the city's 200,000 residents to the mainland, and aqueducts for fresh water.

*

8. Lorenz Fries. *Uslegung der Mercarthen.* Strassburg: J. Grüninger, 1527.

New World cannibals operating in a butcher shop, as seen in this woodcut, were described by Vespucci, whose account of his first voyage appears in this book concerning Martin Waldseemüller's marine chart of 1525. The image of dog-headed creatures residing in distant lands was familiar to European readers through descriptions in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* and Pliny's *Natural History*.

The text accompanying the illustration reads: "The cannibals are hideous, horrid creatures, appear to be equipped with dogheads, ghastly to look at, and they dwell on an island discovered by Christofel Dauber [" Christopher Dove," i.e. Christopher Columbus] in recent years. The cannibals all go naked and are only decorated with parrot feathers of many colors mixed into a strange pattern."

*

9. Francisco de Xerez. *Libro primo de la conquista del Peru & provincia del Cuzco de la Indie occidentali.* Venice: S. dei Nicolini da Sabbio, 1535.

The first official account of the conquest of Peru was written by Francisco de Xerez, Francisco Pizarro's secretary. His eyewitness account of events through February 1533 included descriptions of the Inca Empire and the overthrow of its ruler Atahualpa. The book was originally published in Seville upon the author's return from America with the first shipment of Peruvian gold in July 1534. This first Italian edition, translated by Dominico de Gaztelu, was printed the following year. The text was also reprinted and appended to the 1547 edition of Oviedo's *La hystoria general de las Indias.*

*

10. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. *La historia general de las Indias.* Seville: J. Cromberger, 1535.

Although canoes had been described as early as 1493 in Columbus's Letter, and the Carib term was one of the first native words to enter European dictionaries, the woodcut shown here is the first published illustration of this distinctively American boat. The design, like all the illustrations in the book, is based on the author's own sketches.

Oviedo lived in the Spanish colonies for thirty-five years, serving in several military and civilian posts and eventually holding the governorships of Carthagena and Hispaniola. The positions he held and his wide-ranging travels allowed him to observe many aspects of life in the Spanish Indies, including political events, natural history, and native customs. These he compiled, in a detailed yet diffuse style, in his *historias*, which were published in two volumes in 1535 and 1537. Spanish editions of the work appeared in 1547 and 1557 and translations into French and English were also available by the end of the sixteenth century.

*

11. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. *La relacion que dio . . . lo acaescido en las Indias*. Zamora: A. de Paz y J. Picardo, [1542].

The earliest journey by a European across the North American continent was accomplished over a nine-year period by Cabeza de Vaca. Treasurer of an ill-fated expedition, he and his men crossed the continent from present day Florida to the province of Sinaloa on the Pacific Ocean. Throughout the journey, they came in contact with the various tribes of the region. His report to the King of Spain provided the earliest published information about the North American borderlands of the Spanish empire and its inhabitants. Since the social organization and means of livelihood of these tribes were quite distinct from those of previously encountered natives, the book greatly expanded European geographic and ethnographic knowledge of the New World.

*

12. Spain. *Leyes y ordenanças nueva[m]ente hechas por Su Magestad, p[ar]a la governacion de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conservacion de los Indios*. Alcalá de Henares: J. de Brocar, 1543.

Influenced by the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas and other religious figures and philosophers who promoted humane and just treatment of the Indians under Spanish rule, Charles V issued these "New Laws of the Indies." The

document consists of two ordinances promoting better treatment of the Indians and limiting the *encomienda*, a system under which Spaniards were awarded monopolies on Indian tribute and labor. It also included a decisive clause forbidding the enslavement of any Indians for any reason. While the text may be viewed as a landmark in early human rights legislation, these provisions were ineffective in the colonies and in 1545 the laws were revoked.

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13. Bartolomé de Las Casas. *Aqui se contiene una disputa, o controversia . . . entre el obispo . . . y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda.*. Seville: S. Trugillo, 1552.

Las Casas came to Hispaniola in 1502, joined the priesthood in 1510, and eventually became the Bishop of Chiapas in Mexico. After observing firsthand the drastic loss of native life, which he attributed to the abuses of colonization, he began a campaign to protect the physical and spiritual well- being of the Amerindian populations. For his commitment to this ideal, he was given the title "Protector of the Indians" by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, who was Regent of Spain after Ferdinand's death and before the accession of Charles V.

The seriousness with which the issue of the status of the Indians was taken by the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy was reflected in a series of public debates in 1550 between Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a theologian and classicist. The conflict centered around the moral question of whether the Indians were able to be converted, and if so, if their rights should be protected before conversion was accomplished. This tract is a forceful representation of Las Casas's convictions on the matter. It includes a summary of the philosophical differences between the two disputants, the arguments of Sepulveda, and Las Casas's responses. This copy is bound with eight other works by Las Casas published between 1552 and 1553. All are concerned with the rights of the Indians and together form the principal sources for Las Casas's denunciations of Spanish colonization.

*

14. Bartolomé de Las Casas. *Narratio regionum indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*. Frankfort: T. de Bry and J. Sauer, 1598.

Las Casas's *Destruction of the Indies* was written in 1539 while the author was in Spain, but not published until 1552, after his debates with Sepúlveda. Due to its strong indictment of Spanish colonization, the work was a popular source for the "Black Legend," promoted by the Protestants, of deliberate Spanish cruelty, and the tract went through numerous editions. It was reprinted and translated more often than any of his other works, including editions in Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, French, and English. This Latin edition is a translation of *Tyrannnies et cruautez des Espagnols* (Antwerp, 1579), the first edition to be printed outside of Spain, which in turn is a translation of the Spanish original entitled *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* . Published by the Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry, it contains detailed engravings of alleged Spanish atrocities in the New World. Displayed here is the execution of Queen Anacaona and the massacre of her subjects in Hispaniola.

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15. Pedro de Cieza de León. *Parte primera dela Chronica del Peru*. Seville: M. de Montesdoca, 1553.

Cieza de León came to the New World in his early teens to seek his fortune. In Peru he participated in the civil war of 1544-1548, allied with Pedro de La Gasca against Gonzalo Pizarro. Afterwards, he travelled throughout the Andes collecting information for his proposed major history of the area. His chronicle, of which only the first part was published in the author's lifetime, is based on his own observations, official documents, and oral reports from Indians throughout the region.

This woodcut of the Cerro de Potosí strikingly shows the colonial influence on the Andean landscape with its representation of the veins of ore in the mountain which was to become the major source of silver in Peru. The Incas had probably worked the highest veins at Potosí with open pit mining before the Conquest. The Spanish, however, had knowledge of tunneling techniques which allowed them to exploit deeper veins. Due to the extreme altitude of the mines, European bellows could not bring ores to the proper heat and indigenous wind ovens known as *huayras* were still used during the first years of Spanish mining. Indian labor provided much of the work force for the mines.

*

16. Agustín de Zárate. *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru.* Antwerp: M. Nuyts, 1555.

European attempts to describe New World phenomena were often reduced to defining cultures and objects in negative terms, i.e.: not being of a European nature. Thus, early depictions of native spiritual life often emphasized the Indians' ignorance and rejection of Christianity. A diverse range of indigenous rituals and spiritual concepts that were misunderstood or observed out of context were often reduced to alleged worship of the devil. In this section of Zárate's *Historia* , concerning the religious beliefs and practices of the Incas, the demonic influence on native behavior is portrayed in this woodcut.

The author was comptroller of accounts for Castile for fifteen years before he was sent to Peru to examine the state of colonial finances in 1543. He returned to Spain two years later and wrote this history of the discovery and conquest of Peru, based on his own notes, documents about the civil war he had observed, and other published sources. Nine editions were published before the end of the sixteenth century, including translations into Italian, English, and Dutch.

*

17. Hans Staden. *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung einer Landtschaft der wilden nacketen grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen.* Marburg: A. Kolbe, 1557.

Cannibalism was an extremely important and vivid element in the European construction of Amerindian savagery. Even before the Encounter, anthropophagy had held a place in the European imagination as a horrific practice found in distant lands. In the New World context, it was mentioned as early as Columbus's Letter reporting on his first voyage (although he stated he did not see any) and given much wider diffusion by Vespucci.

The practice of cannibalism was examined in unprecedented detail in Hans Staden's narrative of his experiences as a prisoner of the Tupinambá Indians of Brazil. The book includes woodcuts (appparently made after the author's own drawings) which crudely yet effectively depict this and other customs of the tribe. The great popularity of the book may be ascribed to the author's recounting of his harrowing adventures and his lively account of Tupinambá customs. Although Staden and his publisher appear to have been hoping for a large audience with his provocative and sensational title ("True history and description of a land of savage, naked, vicious, man-eating people, located in the New World America"), much of what Staden wrote about the Tupinambá has been verified by other sources.

*

18. André Thevet. *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique.* Paris: Heirs of M. de LaPorte, 1558.

Thevet was a Franciscan friar who came to Brazil in 1555 with Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon to found a French colony. He spent only two months there before returning to France and it is not clear if his report, including detailed information on the Tupinambá, was based on direct observation or compiled from other written sources. The majority of the illustrations show native customs, such as these two woodcuts depicting funerary rituals.

*

19. Girolamo Benzoni. *La historia del Mondo Nuovo . . . Nuovamente ristampata et illustrata con la giunta d'alcune cose notabile dell'isole Canaria..* Venice: Heirs of G.M. Bonelli, for P. & F. Tini, 1572.

In a horrifying scene with no small degree of poetic justice, the Indians attempt to satisfy the Spaniards all-consuming greed for gold by pouring the molten metal down the conquistadors' throats. As with the other illustrations in the book, it seems to be based on the author's own sketches.

Benzoni was born in Milan and went to America in 1541 at the age of twenty-two. For fourteen years he travelled widely throughout the Spanish colonies, including Haiti, Cuba, Panama, Colombia, and Peru. His History of the New World, which first appeared in Italy in 1565, was widely reprinted: more than thirty editions were published before the end of the eighteenth century, including translations into Latin, German, French, Dutch, and English. The book's popularity may have been due to its highly critical portrayal of Spanish activities; like Las Casas's *Destruction of the Indies* it played an important role in the creation of the "Black Legend." The author's vivid, eyewitness accounts may also have contributed to a long-lasting interest in the book.

*

20. Dionyse Settle. *La navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher anglois, és regions de west & nordwest, en l'annee M.D. LXXVII.* [Geneva?]: A. Chuppin, 1578.

An Inuit who travelled to England with Sir Martin Frobisher after his second journey to Baffin Island in 1577 is shown in his kayak giving a duckhunting demonstration in the harbor of Bristol, England. Instead of the actual backdrop of an English waterfront, the artist provided an arctic setting with additional natives, a sealskin tent, a dog-sled, and an Inuit woman carrying a baby on her back. The illustrator also imaginatively added European beards for the native men.

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21. Jean de Léry. *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, autrement ditte Amerique . . . Avec les figures, reveue, corrigee & bien augmentee de discours notables en ceste troisiesme edition.* [Geneva:] A. Chuppin, 1585.

Léry was a Calvinist minister who lived in "La France Antarctique," an unsuccessful attempt at French colonization in Brazil between 1555-1559. Thevet (see item 18) was also a member of the expedition, and the little that is known about the colony is from the writings of these two men. Because the French were allied with the Tupinambá against the Portuguese, Léry had good relations with the natives and wrote of them quite favorably. He even tried to put their cannibalism in perspective, comparing it to the horrors he had observed during the religious wars in France. Indeed, his book influenced the development of the concept of the Noble Savage, particularly as discussed by Montaigne. In the woodcut displayed here, a Frenchman is participating in an indigenous greeting ceremony.

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22. Michel de Montaigne. *Les essais . . . edition nouvelle trouvee apres le deceds de l'autheur, reveüe et augmentee par luy d'un tiers plus qu'aux precedentes impressions.* Paris: M. Sonnius, 1595.

The 1595 revised edition of Montaigne's *Essays* is based on the author's own annotated copy of the first printing (Bordeaux,1580). It includes his essay "Des Cannibales," which refers to the Tupinambá of Brazil. The likely source for Montaigne's information about the tribe is Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* described above. In the manner of Sir Thomas More (see item 6), Montaigne was interested in using Amerindians to highlight the faults of European society. For instance, he noted that cannibalism was not cruel in the same sense as torture, an established element of the European judicial process of the times. Montaigne concluded that it was better for Amerindians to eat their dead enemies than to eat a man alive as did the Europeans.

Theodor de Bry and his New World

Theodor de Bry, a Flemish engraver and publisher residing in Frankfurt, produced an ambitious series of books documenting the European discovery and conquest of the Americas. Known as the *Grand Voyages,* the complete series consists of fourteen folio volumes printed between 1590 and 1644. Each book includes texts adapted from manuscripts as well as previously published accounts, including those of Thomas Harriot, Hans Staden, Girolamo Benzoni, Sir Walter Raleigh, and José de Acosta. Complementing these texts of exploration and colonization were copperplate engravings produced by de Bry and his family which provided a visual array of historical and anthropological details of native life. These illustrations, some based on field sketches but many derived from previously published woodcuts, played a major role in the creation of the European vision of the New World and its inhabitants.

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23. Thomas Hariot. *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia.* Frankfurt: J. Wechel, for T. de Bry, to be sold by S. Feyerabend, 1590.

Sir Walter Raleigh received a grant in 1585 to create an English colony in the area which is now North Carolina. The project only lasted a year due to food supply problems, hostile relations with the indigenous population, dissent among the colonists, and the absence of immediate riches such as gold or silver. Thomas Harriot, a mathematician, surveyor, and the chief scientist of the expedition, wrote *A briefe and true report* intending to counteract any negative publicity surrounding the failed colonization and to promote further British settlement in North America. De Bry combined Harriot's text, with engravings based on the watercolors of John White, who served as the artist for the expedition.

White's drawings, as they were adapted by de Bry, reveal America to be an idyllic land inhabited by strong and healthy natives. The Indians often display exotic manners and customs, but they are still visually appealing in a classical manner familiar to the educated European reader. In this plate entitled "Their danses which they use att their hyghe feastes," de Bry made only minor alterations to the artist's original drawing. White's intention of portraying a land of innocence is confirmed by Harriot's descriptions of the heads carved in the posts "like to the faces of Nonnes covered with theyr vayls" and of the three dancers in the middle as "three of the fayrest Virgins."

*

24. René Goulaine de Laudonnière. *Der ander Theil der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam.* Frankfurt: W. Richter, for Widow & Sons of T. de Bry, 1603.

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, a cartographer and illustrator, accompanied René Goulaine de Laudonnière to Florida in 1564, as part of a French expedition to the southeastern portion of North America. The meeting of Laudonnière and the Indian "king" Athore shown here is based on the one extant painting by Le Moyne, most likely executed after the artist's return to France. In this meeting between Europeans and natives, the Indians explain that a marble column left two years earlier by the French Captain Jean Ribaut as a symbol of territorial possession was not only intact but had become an object of worship.

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25. Girolamo Benzoni. *Americae pars quarta.* Frankfurt: J. Feyerabend, for T. de Bry, 1594.

Girolamo Benzoni's *History of the New World* (see item 19) was reprinted and translated into seventeen editions by the end of the sixteenth century. Three volumes of the *Grands Voyages* were devoted to illustrating Benzoni's text, with many of the engravings based on woodcuts from the earlier editions.

The author's history of Spanish conquest provided de Bry with numerous opportunities for shocking displays of brutality engendered by life under colonial rule. In this illustration, the Indians of San Juan de Puerto Rico conduct an experiment to determine if Spaniards are mortal: "Having thus drowned him, they carried him back on their shoulders to their master, who, seeing that he was dead, considered that all the others must also be mortal. Thus he concerted a revolt with the other chiefs who had suffered ill-treatment from the Spaniards."

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26. Walter Raleigh. *Kurtze wunderbare Beschreibung. dess goldreichen Konigreichs Guianae in America, oder newen Welt.* Nuremberg: C. Lochner, for L. Hulsius, 1599.

27. Walter Raleigh. *Brevis & admiranda descriptio regni Guianae, auri abundantissimi, in America, seu Novo Orbe.* Nuremberg: C. Lochner, for L. Hulsius, 1599.

These two small quarto editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana,* were published as the fifth title of Levinus Hulsius's collection of voyages. Eight years after Theodor de Bry began the *Grands Voyages,* Hulsius began a similar series, but printed in a more convenient and economical size. Like de Bry, Hulsius adapted texts and images from previously published sources, combining the two in a cheap, popular format. The success of Hulsius's work is apparent from the duration of its publication. Twenty-six parts in sixty-nine volumes (with various editions and issues) were published between 1598 and 1663.

The German and Latin editions of part five are an abridgement of Raleigh's account of his second voyage in 1595, in which he describes Guiana as a land of great wealth offering gold, precious stones, pearls, sugar, rare medicines, and silk. He wrote of a region inhabited by extraordinary natives such as the Blemmyae, people with faces in their breasts, and Amazons. The image of the latter shooting two men suspended in a tree also appears in a woodcut in Thevet's account of Brazil.

II. MISSIONARIES, SCHOLARS, AND THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE

After the initial period of exploration and colonization, the European vision of Amerindians continued to be dominated by the image of exotic natives remaining outside the European conception of civility. Within this broad characterization, however, a shift occurred away from describing Indians simply as objects of fascination, wonder, and horror. This change is seen particularly in the accounts written by missionaries, many of whom lived for extended periods of time among indigenous populations. As additional information concerning native societies throughout the Americas was received from these educated observers, a greater awareness developed concerning the range of native cultures with their own languages, religous beliefs, and histories.

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28. Catholic Church. Province of Lima. Provincial Council (1583). *Confessionario para los curas de Indios*. Ciudad de los Reyes [Lima]: A. Ricardo, [1585].

Confronted with an enormous native population that could not understand the language of the conquerors, the need to translate Christian thought into indigenous tongues was quickly recognized. In both Mexico and Peru, some of the earliest products of the colonial presses were religious works such as catechisms and confessional manuals intended to assist in the conversion of the natives. Grammars and dictionaries were also produced to enable missionaries to preach and instruct in the languages of the Indians.

This *Confessionario*, written by order of the Provincial Council of Lima of 1583-1584, was the second book printed in Lima. Written in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, it provided missionaries with texts enabling them to conduct confessions in two of the languages spoken in the Inca Empire. This copy is bound with two other early trilingual religious works from Antonio Ricardo's press: *Tercero cathecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima, 1585) and

Doctrina Christiana (Lima, 1584). These works are of particular interest to scholars researching the interactions between European and native belief systems in Peru during the colonial period.

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29. Bernardino de Sahagún. *Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de los sanctos del año, en langua mexicana.* Mexico: P. Ocharte, 1583.

This hymnal is a collection of psalms written in Náhuatl to be performed in *areítos* or brief dramatic interludes. Due to the difficulty of translating theological concepts, dramatic representations were considered a valuable instructional tool in the early period of evangelization of the Indian populations. For those natives who could not read, woodcut illustrations accompanying the psalms were also useful pedagogical devices. The Franciscan Father Sahagún, an early ethnographer of Aztec culture, also wrote *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, a copious study of the life and customs of the indigenous groups of Central Mexico which consisted of a Náhuatl text, a Spanish text with additional commentary, and approximately 1,850 drawings. The work remained in manuscript until it was published in three volumes in 1829-1830.

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30. José de Acosta. *Neundter und Letzter Theil Americae, darinn gehandelt wird von gelegenheit der Elementen/Natur/Art und eigenschaft der Newen Welt.* Frankfurt: W. Richter & M. Becker, for Widow & Sons of T. de Bry,1601.

José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* , originally published in Seville in 1590, was translated into German for the ninth volume of de Bry's *Grands voyages.* The author had spent seventeen years in Mexico and Peru as a Jesuit missionary, acquiring information regarding the history, religious beliefs,

laws, government, and customs of Middle and South American natives. The garden illustrated here, raised as tribute to the king Azcapuzalco, was to be both grown and delivered by his subjects only on waterways.

*

31. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar Oceano.* Madrid: J. Flamenco, for the Emprenta Real, 1601.

As the official historian of the Indies for the Spanish government, Herrera had access to a wealth of archival and published sources. These he combined in encyclopedic fashion to create this classic history of Spain's colonial enterprise in the New World between 1492 and 1554. Although the author did not concentrate on native history and customs, he did include previously unpublished materials by early observers of indigenous life such as Bernal Díaz, who accompanied Cortés in Mexico, and Bartolomé de Las Casas. This illustrated title page to the fifth decade of the history shows the succession of Inca rulers. Although the portraits do not provide specific facial details of the individual Incas, the ethnographic information concerning the clothing, headgear, staffs, and earplugs are accurate.

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32. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. *Primera parte de los commentarios reales.* Lisbon: P. Crasbeeck, 1609.

The mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega was born in Peru but spent his adult life in Spain. His account of the Inca Empire included much information regarding its history, religion, government, social organization, and customs and was based on recollections from his childhood in Cuzco as well as written and oral sources.

Garcilaso's firm attachment to both the Inca and Spanish worlds led him to the ambiguous task of relating the history, culture, and oral tradition of Inca civilization in the language of the conqueror. Aware of the difficulties of translating between

cultures, he criticizes the Spanish who "are ignorant as far as the keys to the language; . . . for this reason they write with a great deal of error, interpreting badly, such as saying that the Incas and their followers worship as gods all those things that are called huaca, not being aware of all the meanings that [word] has." Garcilaso explains that beyond signifying sacred sites and offerings, *huaca* also referred to exceedingly beautiful, ugly, monstrous, unnatural and unusual people, places, and objects.

*

33. Juan de Torquemada. *Ia [-IIIa] parte de los veynte y un libros rituales y monarchia yndiána.* Seville: M. Clavijo, 1615.

The use of visual aids in the religious education of the Indians is displayed here on the title page of the second volume of Torquemada's *Monarchia Yndiána.* The image of a friar pointing to a series of painted scenes based on the life of Christ is derived from an engraving in Diego Valadés's *Rhetorica Christiana*, published in Perugia in 1579.

Utilizing native sources and unpublished works, particularly the ethnohistorical researches of fellow missionary Gerónimo de Mendieta, Torquemada's religious and civil history of pre-Hispanic and sixteenth- century Mexico was intended to show the equivalence between native monarchies and their societies and contemporary European cultures.

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34. Samuel Purchas. *Purchas his pilgrimes.* London: W. Stansby, for H. Fetherstone, 1625.

The reproduction of the *Codex Mendoza* by Purchas remained the major published source of Mexican pictographs until the early 1800s. This pictorial representation of Aztec history and manners was originally produced by Mexican illustrators, with inscriptions by missionaries, for the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of New Spain in

the first half of the sixteenth century. The wide scope of the codex, in Purchas's words, was a combination of "Historie, yea a Politicke, Ethike, ecclesiastike, Oeconomike History, with just distinctions of times, places, acts, and arts." Purchas included the work in the volumes he edited of travel and exploration accounts to various parts of the world.

*

35. Antonio de León Pinelo. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*. Madrid: J. González, 1629.

The first edition of the first bibliography of Americana also contained a twelve page list of forty-three Amerindian languages then spoken in Spanish America. The engraved title page by J. de Courbes has the personifications of America (here identified as Iberica but associated with the West), India, Geographia, and Navigatio, symbolizing the bibliographic subjects covered in the book. The use of a female Amerindian as a symbol for the New World became a popular motif in the seventeenth century (see section III, below, entitled Allegories and symbols).

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36. Juan Perez Bocanegra. *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este reyno. . . .* Lima: G. de Contreras, 1631.

This kinship diagram of the Inca genealogical system indicates the general rules for acceptable and prohibited marriages: for instance, relatives may marry only at the generation of great-great-grandchildren. While representing native Andean concepts, the form (without the specific Quechua terminology) may also have been based on medieval European traditions for constructing genealogical models. The illustration is found in Perez Bocanegra's manual for priests administering to Indian populations in the Andes. The bilingual text included instructions on conducting baptisms, confirmations, the eucharist, and confessions.

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37. Roger Williams. *A key into the language of America: or, an help to the language of the natives in that part of America, called New-England.* London: G. Dexter, 1643.

The first book on an Amerindian language printed in English was also the first book published by Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. Dictionaries, vocabularies, grammars, and religious works had already been produced for the native languages of Spanish America and the Huron language in French Canada, but this was the first such book generated in the British colonies.

The work is comprehensive in its treatment of Narragansett Indian life. Williams attempted to cover everything from food, clothing, and shelter to customs, government, religion, commerce, and natural history. The section on travel includes Narragansett phrases and the author's observations related to the topic: "They are joyfull in meeting of any in travell, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take Tobacco, and discourse a little together."

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38. *New Englands first fruits; in respect. First of the conversion . . . of the Indians . . .* London: R.O. and G.D. for H. Overton, 1643.

This narrative describes the earliest evangelization of New England's Indians, including specific instances of conversion and the natives' application of Christian thought in everyday circumstances. The tract is the first of a series of eleven reports regarding the conversion of the region's indigenous peoples issued by the Puritan minister John Eliot and other missionaries between 1643 and 1671. Some of the pamphlets were published by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Indians of New England.

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39. Bible. Massachuset. Eliot. 1663. *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe up-Biblum God*. Cambridge [Mass]: S. Green and M. Johnson, 1663.

The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England was responsible for one of the landmarks of early printing in the British colonies. The "Eliot Bible" is the first Bible printed in the New World, and the first example in history of the translation and printing of the entire Bible in a new language (Massachuset) as a means of evangelism. With the assistance of native translators, Eliot had previously translated the New Testament, which was also printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1661.

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40. *Coyoacán codex (ms)*. [Mexico, c.1700-before 1743].

In contrast to the other items on display, which concentrate on the Indians and their culture as seen from a European point of view, this illustrated manuscript offers a different perspective on Amerindians as active participants in their old and new worlds. Using indigenous methods and materials, the residents of Mazatepe in the Coyoacán region of Mexico prepared this forgery in the first half of the eighteenth century to appear as a sixteenth-century landholding document. In an effort to preserve property rights, native amatl paper made from fig tree bark, watercolor illustrations, and Náhuatl explanations were combined in an effort to use the colonial legal system to reinforce the community's property claims.

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41. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesilla. *Heldhaftige reys-togten, te land, door Ferdinandes Cortes, in Nieuw-Spanje*. Leyden: P. van der Aa, 1707.

The literature of travel and exploration remained an attractive and profitable enterprise for eighteenth-century publishers. The Dutch author, editor, and publisher Van der Aa, like his predecessors de Bry, Hulsius, and especially John L. Gottfried (see item 52), adapted previously published texts and images to produce his collection of travel narratives. The entire series, covering voyages to the East and West Indies between 1246 and 1696, was published under the title *Naaukeurige versameling der gedenkwaardigste . . . reysen na Oost en West-Indiën* (*Accurate collection of the most remarkable . . . journeys to the East and West Indies*) in 29 octavo volumes comprising 127 parts. Writings relating to the Americas included, as was customary, the work of José de Acosta, Girolamo Benzoni, Jean de Léry, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Smith, and Hans Staden. Herrera y Tordesilla's history, one portion of which is translated here, alone contributed twenty-one volumes to the series. This engraving of an Aztec sacrificial temple is found in an account of Cortés's exploration and conquest of Mexico.

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42. Joseph François Lafitau. *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*. Paris: Saugrain, the elder, & C.E. Hochereau, 1724.

While the idea of comparing the ancient cultures of Greece and Rome with those of the New World was not original to Lafitau, his familiarity with both classical literature and native American cultures allowed him to make extensive comparisons. In his two-volume study of the customs of Amerindians and ancient Europeans, Lafitau provided comprehensive and exact information concerning the religious and social manners of Native Americans, particularly of the Iroquois of Canada, among whom he had served as a Jesuit missionary. Shown here is a winter journey, illustrating the use of sleds and snowshoes.

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43. Gregorio García. *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales.* Madrid: F. Martinez Abad, 1729.

The fifth book of García's *Origin of the Indians of the New World, and West Indies* records the creation myths of natives from Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru, as reported by European authors. The remainder of the work includes numerous theories regarding the origins of the Amerindians, including descent from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and possible similarities between indigenous cultures and the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome. The problem of establishing where the Indians came from had great theological ramifications as Europeans attempted to fit their awareness of America and its inhabitants into a knowledge of the world constructed upon Biblical tradition.

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44. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. *Relacion historica del viage a la America meridional.* Madrid: A. Marin, 1748.

The Spanish desire to legitimize the Conquest and continuing colonization of the Inca Empire is expressed graphically in this massive copperplate engraving. The succession of Inca rulers is continued by a series of Spanish kings, ending in the center with "Fernando VI of Spain, the twenty-second emperor of Peru." The idea of legitimate succession is emphasized by the continuous numbering of the portraits, indicating a valid progression of rule and transfer of power.

The illustration appears in the first edition of Juan and Ulloa's report of the results of a French scientific expedition to South America in the years 1735-1744. The five volume set includes information on the indigenous and colonial populations,

the geography, and the natural resources of the vice-royalty of Peru. The work was reprinted many times and translated into English, French, and German. The authors, both officers in the Spanish navy, also wrote *Noticias secretas de America* (published posthumously in London in 1826), originally intended as a confidential report to the Spanish government concerning the political, social, and economic state of the colonies.

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45. Miguel Venegas. *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente.* Madrid: M. Fernandez, 1757.

Descriptions of several California tribes no longer in existence are found in this history of the military and spiritual conquest of the region. Venegas initiated the work in a manuscript he completed in 1739. The Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel completed the text using the writings of general historians such as Herrera and Torquemada for the secular events and documents in the Jesuit archives for the religious affairs. Because the book contained more geographic and ethnographic information about Lower California than almost any other publication of the previous one hundred and fifty years, French, English, German, and Dutch editions were printed within a dozen years of the first Spanish edition.

*

46. Juan de Escandón. *Neue Nachrichten von den Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay und von andern damit verbundenen Vorgängen in der spanischen Monarchie.* Hamburg, 1768.

The geographic extent of Jesuit activity around the world, as recorded in 1762, is delineated in this tree-shaped diagram. Missionary endeavors in the Americas are represented by the French branch (in the middle of the left side) and the Spanish branch (in the lower right side). The Jesuit's successful evangelization in Paraguay, particularly in the establishment of communal villages among the Guaraní, is recounted in this history of the religious order's activities in the Spanish

domains. Originally published in Italian in two parts in 1743 and 1749, French, German, and English translations were also printed before the nineteenth century.

*

47. Bernhard Havestadt. *Chilidúgu sive Res Chilenses.* Westphalia: Aschendorf [at the expense of B. Havestadt], 1777.

Havestadt, a Jesuit who lived in Chile for twenty years, hoped to promote knowledge of the Araucanian language. The author thought the language to be superior to all others, much as he believed the Chilean Andes to be above all other mountains. The work includes an Araucanian grammar and vocabulary, a catechism in prose and verse, organ music to accompany the poetic catechism, and the author's diary of a journey taken in 1751- 1752.

The map documents the provinces, towns, and churches which Havestadt visited during his tour of Chile. Spanish settlements, Jesuit structures, and the regions controlled by native *caciques* are also marked. The text of the map notes that in the flatlands, the homes of the Indians are fixed and do not differ much from those of Spanish peasants. In the mountains, however, the natives do not have stable sites for houses but move as often as necessity demands.

*

48. Christian Ernst Wünsch. *Unterhaltungen über den Menschen. Erster theil über die Kultur und außerliche Bildung desselben.* Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, Son and Company, 1796.

Knowledge of the variety of native cultures accumulated throughout the eighteenth century as reports from different regions of the Americas continued to be published. The awareness in Europe of this diversity, at least in its physical manifestations, is reflected in this engraving comparing different types of Amerindians from Canada to Patagonia. The illustration is from the first part of Wünsch's "Conversation about Mankind," which focuses on culture and man's external appearances. The text, illustrated with fourteen fold-out plates, describes societies from the Americas, Asia, the South Pacific, Africa, Europe, and the polar regions.

III. ALLEGORIES AND SYMBOLS

One type of image of the Amerindian popular in Europe was found in allegories. These representations were not meant to portray particular natives from a specific locale or an identifiable individual, but were constructed as symbols for the hemisphere: its lands, its wealth, and its ever- present exoticism in the European imagination. Usually portrayed as a naked female native, America was often associated with other symbols of the continent such as feathers (derived from early depictions of Indians from Brazil), New World birds and animals, indigenous weapons, and riches. Allegories of America, often combined with personifications of other continents, were produced not only on the printed page but also in paintings, murals, tapestries, silver and pewter plates, even in processions staged at festivals. Aside from being decorative, these allegories often expressed European attitudes of superiority toward America and its inhabitants in political, religious, and social affairs.

*

49. Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum orbis terrarum.* Antwerp: G. Coppens v. Diest, 1570.

The existence of a fourth continent, recognized by geographers in the first decade of the sixteenth century, was realized more fully in European consciousness after the first successful circumnavigation of 1519-1522. Nonetheless, it was not until the 1570s that allegories of the four known continents began to appear. This engraved title page is for the first edition of one of the most celebrated geographical works of the sixteenth century. America is seen reclining in the lowest portion of the picture with a bow and arrow by her side, holding a man's severed head in one hand and a stylized Tupinambá war club in the other. Above her stand Asia, draped in silks, and Africa, with a stylized sun behind her head. A crowned Europe is found at the top with a scepter and an orb, the latter symbolizing the world fully under the reign of Christianity.

*

50. Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Itinerario, voyage, ofte schipvaert.* Amsterdam: C. Claesz, 1596.

In the corners of this world map are the personifications of the four continents. America is found in the lower left riding an armadillo and is accompanied by what would become several standard symbols associated with the New World: she wears a feather bonnet and carries an arrow; a parrot is above her head, and in the background are cannibals preparing a meal. The idea of America as a naked female on such an animal has been attributed to the Flemish painter Martin de Vos, who produced the image for a series of allegorical drawings for the decoration of a triumphal arch constructed in Antwerp in 1594. The image was first widely distributed in an engraving by Adrien Collaert printed ca. 1595-1600.

Linschoten's compendium of knowledge about the East and West Indies was highly regarded for its accurate information concerning geography, navigation, and ethnology. Editions appeared in Dutch, French, English, and Latin, and de Bry adapted the text for parts two, three, and four of his German language collection of "Small Voyages," concerned with the East Indies.

*

51. Hendrick Ottsen. *Iournael oft daghelijcx-register van de voyagie na Rio de Plata.* Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1617.

Originally published in 1603, this is the second edition of the only book about one of the earliest Dutch trading ventures to the New World. It recounts the misadventures of two Dutch ships, "De Gulden Werelt" and "De Silveren Werelt," in their failed attempts to conduct business in Guinea and the Rio de la Plata. The illustrated title page depicts America on an armadillo, again identified by her feather head-dress and bow and arrow.

*

52. Johann Ludwig Gottfried. *Newe Welt und americanische Historien.* Frankfurt: Heirs of Merian, 1655.

This abridgment of parts 1-12 combined with the reissue of part 14 of de Bry's *Grands Voyages* was originally published in 1631. The work includes texts compiled from the writings of Martyr, Oviedo, Staden, Acosta, and Herrera as well as numerous other accounts of the exploration, geography, history, and natural history of the New World. The engraved frontispiece reflects the European view of America as an exotic land, represented here by semi-naked inhabitants in a dark and dense tropical setting filled with an abundance of riches.

*

53. Arnoldus Montanus. *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World.* London: J. Ogilby, 1671.

This English version of Arnoldus Montanus's *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld* was translated, edited, and published by John Ogilby, who specialized in producing lavishly illustrated folio volumes of geography and history. The frontispiece was engraved by Jacob van Meurs, the publisher of the original Dutch edition of the same year. Here America is distributing her wealth to the crowd below which includes Indians, adorned in a variety of costumes, and European soldiers. The blank cartouche at the bottom of the plate was caused by Ogilby's removal of the original Amsterdam imprint.

*

54. Louis Hennepin. *Aenmerckelycke historische Reys-Beschryvinge Door verscheyde Landen veel grooter als die van geheel Europa onlanghs ontdeckt. . . .* Utrecht: A. Schouten, 1698.

Hennepin was a Franciscan Recollect friar who came to Canada in 1675. He explored the Great Lakes region with Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle and accompanied Michael Aco on the first European expedition of the upper Mississippi valley. In the engraved title page for this Dutch edition of the author's *Nouveau voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe*, a few changes from previous representations of America are evident: the figure of America is male and sits upon an alligator, rather than an armadillo. Additional characters include a friar, two European colonists, and slaves. Note that America as well as one slave in the foreground is in chains.

*

55. Gottfrid Bernhard Goetz. *America.* Augsburg, [ca. 1750].

This hand-colored engraving is one of a set of four prints representing each of the known continents of the time. The image of America as an Indian woman seated on an alligator was commonly used in allegories by the mid-eighteenth century. The print also contains imagery derived from previously published works. The scene of Columbus encountering natives bearing gifts, with the cross, three ships, and other natives fleeing in the background, is possibly taken from part four of de Bry's *Grands Voyages*. The two natives in the foreground on the left may be also be found in Gottfried's book of 1655 (see item 52). The poem below the image includes the following description of the inhabitants and the region where they reside: "One finds the people there barbarically wild and can hardly compare them to humans. The land however is filled with everything . . . gold, pearls, jewels, also sugar, coconuts, cochineal, and rivers rich with silver."

*

56. John Gabriel Stedman. *Narrative of a five years' expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America; from the year 1772 to 1777.* London: J. Johnson, 1806.

This allegory, entitled "Europe supported by Africa and America," is one of sixteen plates engraved by William Blake for Stedman's Narrative. Although produced as journeyman work, Blake's artistry is still evident in both the grace and sensuousness found in the three interconnected figures of the continents. First printed in London in 1796, Stedman's account of his experiences in Guiana was published in eighteen editions by1840, including translations into German, French, Dutch, Swedish, and Italian.

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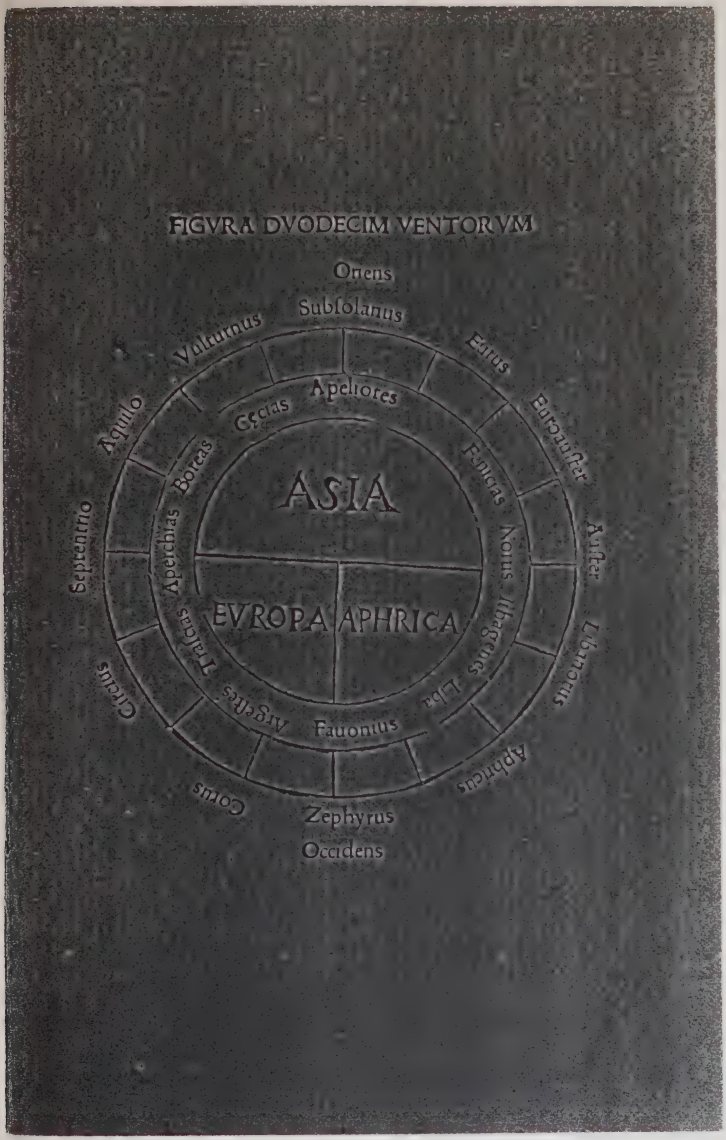
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FIGVRA DVODECIM VENTORVM
Oriens
Subsolanus
Eurus
Eurocauffer
Auster
Libonotus
Africus
Fauonius
Argestes
Thracias
Aparctias
Boreas
Septentrio
Aquilo
Caecias
Apeliotes
Phoenicias
Notus
Libs
Zephyrus
Occidens
ASIA
EVROPA
APHRICA

THE WORLD CONSTRUCTED

An Exhibition of Maps
Prepared by Susan Danforth

November, 1992 - February, 1993

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Cosmography
Projecting the Universe

Geographical maps provide tools to understand and manage the physical world. Cosmological works, on the other hand, are attempts to explain the order of the universe and, often, man's place in it. In ancient and medieval Europe, when the separation of the physical and spiritual worlds was less distinct than it is today, these geographical and cosmological traditions were reflected in the maps produced. Early cartographers usually based their work upon both cosmological inquiry and empirical observation, and the maps they drew owed as much to the cultural assumptions of the period as they did to any mathematical foundation.

1.

Titlepage. In: Joannes de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood), *Sphaera Mundi.* Venice, 1513.

The cosmographer and the tools of his trade are shown here on the titlepage of Sacrobosco's popular cosmography. This work first apeared in manuscript in the thirteenth century and succeeding years saw the production of many versions, both manuscript and printed. Sacrobosco's long-lived text insured that diagrams of the geocentric (earth-centered) universe espoused by classical scholars such as Ptolemy and Aristotle were in use long after the concept of Copernicus's heliocentric (sun-centered) universe had become widely accepted.

2.

Geocentric Universe From: Vesconte Maggiolo, *[Manuscript atlas]* Naples, 1511.

The convention of a northern orientation for maps has been well-established for some time. Most of the early earth-centered cosmographical diagrams, however, present south at the top, as shown in this geocentric model.

3.

Nicolas Copernicus. In: Jean Jacques Boissard, *Icones virorum illustrium.* Part III. Frankfurt, 1597.

Copernicus, considered to be the founder of modern astronomy, published his exposition of the heliocentric universe, *De orbium coelestium revolutionibus*, in 1543. The treatise, which came out shortly before his death, carried an anonymous preface that insisted on the purely hypothetical nature of Copernicus's views. The concept of the heliocentric universe remained unproven and relatively unstudied until the invention of the telescope at the beginning of the seventeenth century offered new opportunities for celestial observation.

Galileo's use of a telescope to survey the heavens provided data to support the Copernican theory. Even in Copernicus's day some members of the clergy had suspected a discrepancy between the new view of the solar system and certain passages of Scripture, but the question was never formally debated until Galileo's zeal for the idea drew theological attention and the astronomer was forced into seclusion.

4.

Copernican Universe. In: Vincenzo Coronelli, *Epitome cosmographica.* Venice, 1693.

Mappaemundi
Projecting the Idea of the Earth

There was no such thing in the Middle Ages as a general map made for a wide variety of uses; maps were drawn with a particular purpose (or a particular occasion) in mind. From the fifth to the fifteenth century there developed a genre of world maps that had originated in the classical tradition but were adopted by the Christian church. The primary purpose of these *mappaemundi* was to instruct the faithful about significant concepts and events in church history, rather than to record accurate geographic information. These maps rarely had a scale and were often schematic in character and geometric in shape.

5.
T-O Mappamundi In: Zacharia Lilio. *De Origine & Laudibus Scientiarium ... contra Antipodes.* Florence, 1496.

The "T-O" map, so-called because it looks like the letter "T" within a circle, is a schematic depiction of the world with origins in Greek and Roman times. The Christianized version often had Jerusalem located at the center, where Europe, Asia, and Africa meet.

6.
Mappamundi. In: Jacopo Phillipo da Bergamo, *[Supplementum chronicarum].* Venice, 1486

7.
Mappamundi. In: Jacopo Phillipo da Bergamo, *[Supplementum chronicarum].* Venice, 1506.

These two *mappaemundi* depict the Christian cosmos. God has created Adam and Eve and the animals of the land and air and has placed them in the Garden of Eden at the earth's center. The earth is surrounded by the ocean and its inhabitants. The skies, with the sun, moon, and stars, form a ring around the earth. The whole is encircled by Heaven.

While the basic message is the same in both these maps, the artists have rendered the view with different perspectives. The depiction of the earth in the 1486 edition is sphere-like, while in the 1506 edition the addition of a horizon line makes the earth appear to be flat.

8.

Demonstration of the Spherical Earth. In: Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, *Imagen del mundo.* Alcala de Henares, 1626.

Although some medieval writers presented theories of a flat earth, most commentators agreed that the earth was a sphere. This was due primarily to the continued influence of classical Greek learning—both Aristotle's demonstration of the sphericity of the earth and the works of Claudius Ptolemy were well-known in the West after the twelfth century. With the exception of a few polemical works against the idea, such as Zachariah Lilio's *De origine & laudibus scientiarium...contra Antipodes* (item 5), most scholars would have agreed with Gaultier de Metz (1480), who stated that "a man could go around the world as a fly makes the tour of an apple." An early seventeenth-century version of Metz's view is shown here.

9.

Mappamundi. In: Ambrosius Aurelius Macrobius, *[In somnium scipionis expositio].* [Paris] 1519.

The Macrobian *mappamundi* divided the known world into five climatic zones. The northern and southern polar regions were

considered to be too cold for humans, while the equatorial *zona perusta* was thought to be uncrossable because of its extreme heat. The river, *Alveus Oceani*, was supposed to flow just beneath the surface of the ocean sea.

Temperate areas between these extremes, however, were habitable. According to Greek theory, the northern temperate zone was home to the peoples of the known world, while the southern temperate zone was thought to be inhabited by "Antipodeans." Although scholars who followed Christian doctrine had difficulty with the implications of a race of people who were not descended from the sons of Adam, it was possible (with some intellectual gymnastics) to subscribe to the idea of the earth's sphericity without agreeing with the concept of unknown peoples.

10.

Mappamundi. In: Pierre D'Ailly, *Imago Mundi*. [Louvain,1483?]

Pierre D'Ailly (1350-1420) was a French cardinal whose popular cosmographical work appeared over the centuries in several manuscript and printed versions. This was one of the treatises that Christopher Columbus used to educate himself in geographical matters. D'Ailly names the three continents of the then known world and locates various cities, but his southern hemisphere remains blank.

11.

Mappamundi. In: Ovid, *[Metamorphoses. Italian.]* Venice, 1561.

Lodovico Dolce, the translator of this edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, has updated the standard zonal *mappamundi* with information from recent European exploration (note the Strait of Magellan in South America). However, he conforms to tradition by leaving the central torrid zone uninhabited.

12.

Mappamundi. In: Giuseppi Rosaccio, *Il mondo e sue parti.* Florence, 1595.

Rosaccio attempted to fit modern geography into the traditional mold by placing both the "Old World" and the "New World" in the same hemisphere.

Projecting the Physical World

13.

Claudius Ptolemy, *[Almagest. Latin].* [Venice] 1515.

The Alexandrian astronomer, Claudius Ptolemy (fl. 2d. cent.), was the author of influential treatises on the subjects of astrology (*Tetrabiblos*), astronomy (*Almagest)*, and geography (*Geographia*). Upon their translation into Latin and dissemination by the printing press, these last two works had a singular impact on Renaissance European scholars newly interested in theoretical and practical geography.

In the *Almagest*, a tool for students of astronomy, Ptolemy explains how to make a celestial globe. He describes the constellations as if they were drawn on the inside of a sphere and seen by an observer on the surface of the earth. Ptolemy also gives the exact location of each star using its latitude and longitude in relation to the ecliptic (the apparent path of the sun among the stars). Although the concept of longitude and latitude had filtered into Europe by the early eleventh century through contacts with Islamic scientists in Spain, there is no evidence that it had any effect on medieval mapmaking, since it was used primarily for astrological calculations.

14.

Table of coordinates. In: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia.* Venice, 1511.

The *Geographia* provides directions for making maps. First, Ptolemy gathered information from his predecessors about the location of cities. These were combined to produce tables of coordinates to aid the cartographer in placing the cities correctly on the map.

This edition of the *Geographia* is unusual because it is printed in red and black ink.

15.

World on a conical projection. In: Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia.* Bologna, [1477].

The next step was to provide guidelines to help the student transfer geographical information about the three-dimensional surface of the earth onto a two-dimensional piece of paper. To accomplish this task, Ptolemy provided his readers with explanations of four mathematical projections, three of which were of his own invention.

The conical projection, shown here, was the first method devised by Ptolemy to solve the problem of depicting a sphere on a two-dimensional surface.

16.

World on a spherical projection. In: Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia.* Florence [ca. 1482].

Ptolemy's second projection corrected some of the problems of distortion inherent in the first one. Here, the lines representing the meridians have the same appearance they would have on a sphere when viewed by an observer looking directly at the center of the map. However, Ptolemy cautioned his readers that while the spherical projection portrayed the earth more accurately than the conical projection, it was considerably more difficult to construct.

Further Projections

17.

Representations of the terrestrial globe in Antiquity. Allain Manesson Mallet, *Description de l'univers*, Vol. 1. Paris, 1683.

The only way to show the surface geography of the earth without distortion is by using a globe. Over the centuries various map projections have been devised to transfer this three-dimensional image to a two-dimensional piece of paper, but each distorts in one way or another the actual relationship between land and water areas on the surface of the earth. Therefore, the cartographer must select (or create) a projection that interferes least with the geographical point that is trying to be made.

18.

Frontispiece. In: Oronce Finé, *Orontij Finei Delphinatis ... [De mundi sphaera].* Paris, 1542.

In the frontispiece to his cosmological treatise Oronce Finé (1494-1555), the leading French astronomer and cartographer of his day, discusses the fine points of celestial science with Urania, a personification of the universe.

19.

Oronce Finé, *Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta.* [Venice, ca. 1590.]

Oronce Finé stated that he first drew the world using this single cordiform (heart-shaped) projection in about 1518 for "the celebrated savant king Francis I." That map was first published in 1534 and the cordiform projection remained popular throughout the 16th century. Although the landmasses of the world appear to be distorted, this projection is conformal; that is to say

the relationship between land and water areas is fairly correct.

In geographical terms, Finé's maps provide information that was often considerably in advance of other maps published during the same period. Beyond the tip of South America on the right-hand side of the map is marked the Mare Magellanicum, one of the first uses of Magellan's name in that context. Further north, however, (on the left-hand side of the map) Finé has made North America an extension of Asia. This misrepresentation of the nature of the North American continent is characteristic of the maps made by Finé.

20.

Oronce Finé, *Nova, et integra universi orbis descriptio. 1531.* In: *Novus orbis regionum.* Paris, 1532.

The double cordiform map shown here was prepared by Finé for inclusion in the Paris edition of this popular book of voyages and travels. Finé's double cordiform projection was used by Gerard Mercator for his important world map of 1538 and by numerous other cartographers until mid-century.

21.

Astrologus Petrus Apianus Binvitzius. In: Jean Jacques Boissard, *Icones virorum illustrium.* Frankfurt, 1597.

During the Renaissance, astrology and astronomy were usually considered as one science, and much of the scientific community's interest in the motion of heavenly bodies had to do with the neccessity of amassing accurate statistical information for astrological prognostication. Peter Apian (1495-1552), described in this portrait as an "astrologer," was a cosmographer, cartographer, and mathematics professor in Ingolstat, Germany and Vienna, Austria.

22.

Peter Apian, *Tipus orbis universalis*. [Antwerp] 1530. From: Peter Martyr D'Anghiera, *De orbe novo*. Alcalá, 1530.

Peter Apian produced one major astronomical work, the *Astronomicum Caesareum*, but is best remembered for this map that appeared in many popular cosmographical treatises of the day.

The map is not original to Apian. The geography and the projection are directly derived from the important world map published by Martin Waldseemüller in 1507, which was the first printed map to name America. The projection is a modification of Ptolemy's conical projection (Item 15).

23.

Louis de Mayerne Turquet, *La nouvelle maniere de representer le globe terrestre*. Paris, [1648.]

The north polar azimuthal or equidistant azimuthal projection is centered on the north pole. The latitudes appear as equidistant concentric circles and the distortion increases dramatically as one moves south.

De Mayerne Turquet introduced his new polar projection in 1648, and its popularity reflects European interest in the far northern regions of North America as the search continued for a northern passage to the markets of the Orient.

24.

Moses Pitt, *Nova totius terrarum orbis*. [Oxford, 1680.]

In 1569 Gerard Mercator published an influential world map drawn on the projection that now bears his name. He did not, however, supply directions for its construction and it was not until 1600 that Edward Wright worked out the mathematics that enabled the projection to be used by other cartographers.

The Mercator projection presents a fairly distortion-free picture our own middle latitudes. Both the extreme northern and southern latitudes, however, are quite inaccurate. Since this projection works so well to depict the continental United States and western Europe, it has been the projection of choice for school textbooks for quite some time. Because our picture of world geography has been shaped (or mis-shaped) by the Mercator projection, we have always found it difficult to truly understand the vast expanse of northern lands that was the USSR or to develop a sense of how large the state of Alaska really is.

Thematic Maps
Projecting an Idea

No primarily thematic maps appear to have been made before the last half of the seventeenth century. Occasional "thematic" additions had been entered on otherwise general maps, but the idea of making a map solely for the purpose of showing the geographic structure of a phenomenon seems not to have occurred to anyone.

25.
Systema ideale pyrophylaciorum subterraneorum. In: Athanasius Kircher, Mundus subterraneus. Amsterdam, 1678.

The Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) taught mathematics, moral philosophy, Hebrew, and Syrian at the Jesuit University in Würzburg. Fleeing the invasion of Gustav of Sweden, he settled in Avignon where he focused upon mapmaking, mathematics, and the study of hieroglyphics. In 1634, the year after Galileo was forced into seclusion, Kircher was called to Rome where he became professor of mathematics.

Kircher was much impressed by the Calabrian earthquake of 1636 and resolved to investigate the nature of the earth's interior and its relation to surface phenomena. One of his best-known books (he wrote more than 40 volumes during his lifetime) is the *Mundus subterraneus*, which contains a number of maps that explain his theories about the the origin of rivers, the circulation of ocean waters, and the one shown here, which outlines the subterranean network of lava streams that causes volcanic eruptions.

26.

Das unter=irdische wasser. In: Eberhard Werner Happell, *Mundus miribilis tripartitus.* Ulm, 1687-[1689].

Happell (1647-1690) studied medicine and law. After his marriage he turned to popular writing in order to pay the bills, and during his short lifetime wrote 20 romantic adventure novels (each of which ran to 4 or 5 volumes). From time to time he also turned his hand to writing history, such as this natural history of the world. Like Kircher, Happell was fascinated by the natural forces beneath the earth's surface. His thematic map describes underground water systems.

27.

Map of ocean depths T. Burnet, *Telluris theoria sacra.* 3d. ed. London, 1702.

Burnet first published his theory of the earth in 1681. Although his ideas about the earth's interior structure are quite fanciful, the book is an early attempt at geological theory. This map showing ocean depths in the western hemisphere also depicts California as an island, a fairly widespread and tenacious geographical misconception during this period

Acquired with funds provided by the Lathrop C. Harper Endowment

28.

Edmund Halley, A new and correct chart shewing the variations of the compass. London [1701].

Geomagnetism became a subject for thematic mapping when it began to be realized that the departure of the compass needle from true north (declination or variation) might be systematic. There were attempts to map declination by 16th-century Spanish chartmakers and much discussion of the problem by scholars, but the first to produce a printed isoline map of declination was Edmund Halley (1656-1742). The purposes of his chart were to allow the mariner to correct his course in "continued cloudy weather" and to estimate longitude in areas where the "Curves run nearly North and South, and are thick together."

29.

Planisphere physique. Philippe Buache, *Cartes et tables de la geographie physique ou naturelle.* Paris [ca. 1770].

Philippe Buache (1700-1773) was the "premier geographe" to Louis XV and the first geographer to sit in the French Academy of Sciences. His scientific contribution rests largely on this work, which illustrates his theory that the geological features of land-masses, particularly mountain ranges, continue under the oceans. This the first thematic atlas and an important step in the development of the theory of continents.

Gift of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

30.

Tabula mundi geographico zoologica sistens quadrupedes. In: Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmerman, *Specimen zoologiae geographicae.* Leyden, 1777.

E. A. W. Zimmerman, best known as a teacher, wrote a number of monographic studies of mammals, including several published in the nineteenth century that dealt specifically with American mammals. This early study is an extensive survey of the worldwide distribution of domestic and migratory quadrupeds following the work of Linneaus. The thematic map shown here is the first to describe animal distribution.

Gift of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

31.

Cuadro fisico de las Islas Canarias. Geografia de las plantas de Tenerife. Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Viage á las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente, hecho en 1799 hasta 1804.* Paris, 1826.

Among his many achievements, Von Humboldt the explorer was also the inventor of what we now call "plant geography," the theory that the distribution of organic life is affected by varying physical conditions.

This colored plan illustrates what was then considered a novel idea: the natural location of plants as determined by altitude.

Gift of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

Cosmography

Effigies Tychonis Brahe. In: Johannes Blaeu, *Atlas Major.* Vol. I. Amsterdam, 1662.

Under the patronage of Frederick II of Denmark, Tycho Brahe constructed Uranienborg on the island of Hven as a center for astronomical observation. Completed in 1580, the site contained some of the largest, most accurate instruments that had been built to that date.

Tycho Brahe's plan of the cosmos fell between those of Ptolemy and Copernicus. The earth retained its immobility, but the five known planets revolved around the sun, which in turn annually circled the earth. Although Tycho Brahe rejected the Copernian system, his improvements in the art of astronomical observation secured his reputation as the "father" of practical astronomy.

Cosmography

[Celestial chart of the southern hemisphere.] In: John Seller, *Atlas Maritimus.* London, 1675.

The ancient Ptolemaic constellations sufficed until non-Ptolemaic stars were revealed by Tycho Brahe's observations, European voyages to the southern hemisphere, and newly invented telescopes. As these stars were sighted, astronomers rushed to incorporate them into new constellations. From 1595 to 1597 Pieter Dirckz. Keyser and Frederick de Houtman charted the stars around the antarctic pole,which were incorporated into new constellations such as Indus (an American Indian), Triangulum, and ten animals, from Apus (a bird) to Volans (a flying fish).

Cosmography

Peter Apian, *Astronomicum caesareum*. Ingolstat, 1540.

This magnificently produced volume was a complex instrument that enabled its user to calculate planetary positions for any time in the past or future. Because of its sophisticated nature and delicate format, however, it was probably not an immediate success, even among people who could afford it.

Cosmography

Peter Apian, *[Astronomicum cäsareum. German]*. Ingolstat, 1540.

This simpler complementary work in German was produced for the use of a lay audience who was unable to read Apian's *Astronomicum* in Latin. Latin was the international language of European scholarship until the mid-seventeenth century, and the existence of this vernacular edition (published in the same year as the Latin edition) suggests that book's appeal to an audience beyond the academy.

Acquired with funds provided by the Lathrop C. Harper Endowment

Projecting the Physical World

Celestial globe gores.
From: Vincenzo Coronelli, *Libro di Globi*. 1705.

The atlas from which these printed gores were removed contains enough pieces to make six different terrestrial and celestial globes of varying sizes. The gores were designed to be cut out and pasted onto a papier maché globe. Few Coronelli globe atlases remain intact; most were made up into globes by their owners long ago.




JEFFERSON

(Front cover) An early nineteenth-century engraving, derived from Gilbert Stuart's popular 1805 portrait.

Thomas Jefferson

in Historical Context

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An exhibition held at the John Carter Brown Library

March 25 to May 15, 1993, on the occasion of the

250th anniversary of Jefferson's birth

Prepared by

Barbara A. Mathews

With the assistance of Timothy More and the

Staff of the John Carter Brown Library



Providence, Rhode Island

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PREFACE

Thomas Jefferson was a unique and extremely talented individual. His powerful intellect and driving curiosity would have set him apart from most of his contemporaries in any age. At the same time, however long and however well his accomplishments and contributions have weathered the centuries following his death in 1826, Thomas Jefferson was very much a man of the eighteenth century, and of eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia in particular. Better understanding the eighteenth century therefore helps us to appreciate more fully Jefferson's life and career. The converse, of course, is also true: looking at Jefferson's full and varied life enhances our understanding of the world in which he lived.

The sense that the eighteenth century tells us as much about Jefferson as Jefferson can tell us about the eighteenth century is the guiding theme for this exhibition.

Thomas Jefferson

in Historical Context

I. JEFFERSON THE VIRGINIAN : EARLY EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION

Direct experience as much as birth and heritage made Jefferson a Virginian. He was born into a region and culture dominated by the cultivation, harvest, and sale of tobacco. Large planters wielded tremendous economic, social, and political authority. In his education, choice of profession and active involvement in public affairs, Jefferson lived up to (and, indeed, surpassed) the expectations of eighteenth-century Virginia society.

Like most young Virginia gentlemen, Jefferson received a liberal education in a small, private school setting. His teacher's emphasis upon the ancient classics was typical, although Jefferson's mastery of these texts was not. His attendence at the College of William and Mary did not set him apart from his contemporaries in any noticeable way, although once more his performance did. In choosing to study law, Jefferson again conformed to the expectations of polite Virginia society. His law studies and practice prepared him well for the next logical step for young and aspiring members of Virginia's colonial elite : political service.

Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Society

Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743 at a plantation called Shadwell after the London parish where his mother, Jane Randolph, had been christened. Jefferson's father was a successful planter and surveyor. When he died in 1757, Peter Jefferson left his eldest son approximately 7500 acres of land and twenty slaves. This substantial inheritance from his father and his maternal patrician heritage automatically made fourteen-year old Thomas Jefferson a member of elite Virginia society.

1. *Loading Virginia Tobacco.* On: Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson. *A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia. . . .* London, [c. 1775].

Thomas Jefferson was three years old when his father and Joshua Fry surveyed and mapped a vast and heretofore unexplored area of western Virginia in 1749. The conditions were so arduous that Peter Jefferson considered it a miracle that he and Fry survived the trip. The Fry-Jefferson map was the first to depict accurately the interior regions of Virginia beyond the tidewater, and dominated the cartographical representation of the area for 150 years. The map's cartouche depicts the dual dependence upon tobacco and slaves that characterized eighteenth-century Virginia's economy and culture.

2. Jonathan Carver. *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America. . . .* London, 1778.

Jonathan Carver traveled extensively through what was then America's northwestern frontier during the late 1760s, searching for a northwest land passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Carver recorded the customs and conditions of the twelve Indian nations he visited, and discussed the state of colonial relations between Britain and France. Carver described Braddock's defeat and was an eye witness of the ambush following the English surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757. Like Peter Jefferson's surveying expedition, Carver's account serves as a reminder of how much of early eighteenth-century Virginia remained unsettled and unexplored by its European inhabitants.

3. Jonathan Carver. *A Treatise on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant. . . .* London, 1779.

Jonathan Carver declared that "[a]mong all the productions of foreign climes introduced into these kingdoms, scarcely any has been held in higher estimation by persons of every rank than tobacco." Virginia planters were well aware of this fact. Tobacco cultivation and export was the mainstay

and foundation of Virginia's economy. As with the rest of the colony's planter elite, Thomas Jefferson's status as a Virginia gentleman rested upon his cultivation of and control over this valuable commodity.

4. John H. Wynn. *A General History of the British Empire in America. . . .* London, 1770.

John Wynn dismissed the Virginia colony's manufactures as "so insignificant as not to deserve mentioning. . . . The Virginians take every article of convenience or ornament of the mother country." He observed that Virginia planters lived "in general, to the full extent of their fortunes." In consequence, any slump in tobacco prices put them heavily in debt to the London merchants to whom they consigned their cargos. Anxieties over their state of chronic indebtedness would lead Thomas Jefferson and other planters to condemn the consignment system that had generated so much wealth for the empire with so little security for even the most prominent Virginians.

5. Andrew Burnaby. *Travel Through the Middle Settlements in North America. . . .* London, 1775.

The Reverend Andrew Burnaby's travel diary contains some of the liveliest descriptions of Virginia society in the 1760s. He found Virginia's inhabitants indolent, easy, and good-natured, although he observed that being slaveholders had made gentlemen "vain and imperious." They displayed these attributes, according to Burnaby, in "acts of extravagance, ostentation, and a disregard of economy." Virginians tended to "outrun their income" while they spared no expense in supporting pleaures such as horse-racing and entertaining. Like other observers, Burnaby noted that Virginians were "immoderately fond of dancing. . . . Indeed it is almost the only amusement they partake of."

6. Edward Kimber. *The Peerage of England.* London, 1766.

Thomas Jefferson would lead the assault upon aristocratic privilege and authority from the 1770s until the end of his life. It may seem odd, therefore, that Jefferson also owned a copy of Edward Kimber's *The Peerage of England.* Yet, Jefferson's early interest in uncovering and establishing the ancient and honorable lineage on his maternal side was typical of the eighteenth-century Virginia gentry's desire to demonstrate their geneaological as well as their economic ascendency. In 1771, he requested a London friend to "search the herald's office for the arms of my family." In the event there were none, he wished to purchase some, having been assured "that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat."

Jefferson's Early Education and Legal Career

Thomas Jefferson received his earliest education studying at home with a tutor. When he was nine, his father sent him away to board and study with the Reverend William Douglas. At fourteen, Thomas Jefferson began studying with the Reverend James Maury in Albemarle. Jefferson obtained his early training in and love of the classics from this learned minister and schoolmaster. His education also included riding and dancing. Training and proficiency in these arts was perceived as no less an important part of a gentleman's education than learning to read Greek and Latin. As one contemporary noted, Virginians would "dance or die."

In 1760, Thomas Jefferson began attending the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia's colonial capital. He thus joined the increasing numbers of Virginians educated at home rather than abroad. Many Virginians felt that young men going abroad to study in England came back with an inferior education and with morals thoroughly spoilt by a "corrupted and vicious" lifestyle. Although William and Mary suffered during

these years from a serious teaching shortage, Jefferson had the good fortune to be taught by Mr. William Small. Jefferson later credited this talented and influential Scotsman with setting the course of his later life and career.

7. *The charter, and statutes, of the College of William and Mary.* Williamsburg, 1736.

Jefferson attended William and Mary from 1760-1762. Here he met and associated with the colony's youthful elite. The college's students and faculty numbered no more than a hundred. The educational goals stated in its charter were typical of most eighteenth-century British American colleges: the proper training of youth in both learning and good morals, the preparation of ministers, in this case for the Church of England, and the christianization of the Indians.

8. Homer. *Iliad,* trans. by Alexander Pope. Philadelphia, 1795.

Jefferson received his early classical training at the Reverend James Maury's school. He also received instruction in dancing and music and was accounted a good rider. Thus far, his education was typical for a member of the Virginia gentry. Jefferson's command of Greek was unusual, however, for Greek tended to be scanted in favor of Latin. Alexander Pope's English translations of Homer contented less brilliant or assiduous scholars. In a letter to Joseph Priestly in 1800, Jefferson wrote: "I enjoyed Homer in his own language infinitely beyond Pope's translation of him . . . I thank on my knees him who directed my early education for having put into my possession this rich source of delight." Shown here is the first American edition of Pope's enormously popular translation of Homer's *Iliad.*

9. John Locke. *Two treatises of government.* London, 1698.

Jefferson once wrote that he considered Francis Bacon, Issac Newton, and John Locke "the three greatest men that have ever lived, without any exception." Locke's (1603-1704) influence on eighteenth-century intellectual life was enormous and complex. His fame was due not only to the lucidity and penetration of his thought but also to its comprehensiveness. Locke wrote treatises on epistemology (*An essay concerning human understanding,* 1690), religion (*Four letters concerning toleration,* 1685-1706 and the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1695), and education (*Some thoughts concerning education,* 1693). Perhaps Locke's most lasting and certainly most famous contribution was to the realm of political theory. Shown here is the 1698 edition of his *Two treatises of government*, a foundation stone of liberal political theory that places the ultimate justification for government on the consent of the people.

10. Benjamin Martin. *Philosophia Britannica; or A new and comprehensive system of the Newtonian philosophy.* London, 1759.

Like almost all educated people of the eighteenth century, Jefferson idolized Isaac Newton. Newton represented something beyond the specifics of his science: the capacity of human reason to penetrate to the underlying order of things and to use this understanding to better the human condition. Jefferson's limited understanding of the higher mathematics contained in Newton's *Principia Mathematica* was typical of most Americans. As with many of the theories and breakthroughs of advanced science in our time, the substance of Newton's achievement was known through popularizers. These included Benjamin Martin, whose *Philosophica Britannica* Jefferson owned along with Newton's *Principia.*

11. Frances Hutcheson. *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy.* Philadelphia, 1788.

Like most Americans interested in ideas, Jefferson was profoundly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment. In addition to immortals such as David Hume and Adam Smith, the movement produced many lesser known luminaries. Of his inspiring young Scottish college tutor and mentor William Small, Jefferson said: he "probably fixed the destinies of my life." Francis Hutcheson was the seminal figure for much eighteenth-century Scottish thought. A professor at Glasgow, Hutcheson's first book, *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* appeared in 1725. The *Short Introduction*, shown here, was first published in Glasgow in 1747. Jefferson agreed with Hutcheson that every human being had an innate knowledge of what was morally right or wrong, regardless of education or intellectual abilities. This belief played a major role in the development of the general political philosophy that formed the basis of Jeffersonianism.

Jefferson's Legal Training and Practice

Jefferson's residence in Virginia's colonial capital did not end when he terminated his college career. Polite Virginia society considered either the law or the church acceptable professions for its members. Jefferson met these cultural expectations when he decided to stay in Williamsburg and study law under George Wythe. Wythe was a friend of Jefferson's college tutor and mentor William Small. At thirty-five, Wythe was a successful lawyer and an influential member of Virginia's political community. He also was known for his prowess in Greek and Latin, the further study of which he encouraged his new pupil to pursue. Wythe introduced Jefferson to Virginia society's leading members, among them the Royal Governor, Francis Fauquier. Jefferson became a frequent visitor to the Governor's Palace.

12. Henry Care, *English Liberties: or, the Free-Born Subject's Inheritance. . . .* London, 1680.

Jefferson became a meticulous lawyer under Wythe's tutelege. His first assignment was "Coke upon Littleton." This first of Coke's four volume *Institutes* proved heavy going. Jefferson wrote to a friend in 1762 he wished "the Devil had old Cooke, for I am sure I never was so tired of such an old dull scoundral in my life." Although Jefferson found reading Coke a trying experience, American revolutionaries would venerate the English jurist for his defence of the rule of law against the exercise of arbitrary royal prerogatives. Coke became known for his defense of English liberties primarily through the republication of his interpretation of the Magna Carta in Henry Care's *English Liberties.*

13. William Blackstone. *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* London, 1770.

Jefferson also owned the second great text, after Coke, favored by all legal professionals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Blackstone's four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* Although he referred to the *Commentaries* as "the most elegant & best digested of our law catalogue," Jefferson considered it "only an elementary book." Jefferson also condemned Blackstone for his Tory interpretation of English law. He wrote to Horatio Spafford in 1814 that he believed Blackstone's *Commentaries* , along with David Hume's *History of England* (1790-91),had done more towards the suppression of the liberties of man, than all the millions of men in arms of Bonaparte."

II. JEFFERSON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Revolution was a formative event not just politically but also intellectually for all of the Founding Fathers. Certainly, Thomas Jefferson's later views on political participation and on the role of

government are incomprehensible without an understanding of the forces and influences that lay behind them. At the same time, Jefferson's earlier education and cultural background had much to do with the way in which he responded to Britain's colonial policies.

Although neither he nor his contemporaries could have predicted the events of the 1760s and beyond, Thomas Jefferson was well-equipped to fulfill the duties and responsibilities he was to assume. Despite his relative youth (he was only thirty-three when he wrote the Declaration of Independence) Jefferson could draw on an extensive liberal education. In addition, he possessed a sound knowledge of law and had gained practical political experience as a member of Virginia's Assembly.

The Imperial Crisis in Virginia

Thomas Jefferson was twenty-five years old when Francis Fauquier, the governor of Virginia, died in 1768. Fauquier's successor, Lord Botetourt, proved less able than Fauquier to obtain Virginians' love and respect. When Botetourt dissolved the old Assembly and called for a general election, Jefferson ran for and won a seat as a burgess for Albemarle County. Thus began a career of public service that would span more than three turbulent decades.

14. Richard Bland, *A Letter to the Clergy of Virginia, in which the conduct of the General Assembly is vindicated.* Williamsburg, 1760.

A dispute over the salaries of the Anglican clergy was one of the earliest signs of trouble between Virginia and the English government. In 1758, the Virginia Assembly passed a law that ministers were to be paid not in tobacco, as they customarily had been, but in money at a set rate.

When rising tobacco prices proportionately devalued ministerial salaries, the clergy complained that the colony was cheating them. Richard Bland's *Letter to the Clergy of Virginia* was written in response to these complaints. Thomas Jefferson's tutor, the Reverend James Maury, brought suit against his parish for the money he claimed had been illegally denied him. Although Maury was indisputably in the right, a young lawyer named Patrick Henry presented so eloquent and persuasive a defense that the jury awarded Maury only one penny.

15. *The Mitred Minuet.* From: *The London Magazine,* London, 1774.

The Quebec Act of June 1774 precipitated another clash between the colonies and British policy on the subject of religion. The Act granted complete religious freedom to Catholics in what had formerly been New France. Although it was non-punitive and did not directly affect any of Britain's other North American colonies, colonists condemned the Quebec Act as one of the "Intolerable Acts" passed by Parliament. This illustration depicts the widespread fears of a tyrannical and despotical alliance between Parliament and the Catholic Church in the wake of the Quebec Act.

16. *The Great Financier, or British Oeconomy for the Years 1763, 1764, 1765.* [London, 1765.]

The Seven Years War was a costly victory for Great Britain politically and economically. The trade and taxation policies designed to reduce the heavy debt that was a legacy of the Seven Years War proved extremely unpopular throughout the colonies. As resentment and fear over revenue-raising measures such as the Stamp Act grew, Virginians joined other colonists in entering into non-importation agreements. This cartoon advises loosening restrictions on colonial trade as a way of decreasing Britain's deficit. The broom attached to a ship signifies it is for sale and symbolizes the economic stagnation of the post-war years. Economy, aided by George Grenville, William Pitt, a Spaniard, and Britannia, attempts to

balance the budget, while an American Indian declares that "commerce will outweigh" the deficit.

17. Thomas Jefferson. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America.* London, 1774.

By 1774, relations between the American colonies and Parliament had deteriorated so far that some Americans publically repudiated Parliamentary authority altogether. Among these was Thomas Jefferson. Originally intending to present his ideas to a convention of burgesses at Williamsburg, Jefferson became ill and had to send ahead his resolutions to two other convention members. His hastily written and passionate *Summary View* became the best-known of any of his early writings save for the Declaration of Independence. The *Summary View* was printed four times in 1774, twice in the colonies and twice in England.

America at War

Thomas Jefferson was thirty-two when America went to war with Great Britain in 1775. Although he served in various legislative and executive capacities throughout the war, including that of governor of Virgina, he became most famous for his activities while a member of the Continental Congress. Jefferson's most potent weapon was his pen. Other members of the Congress quickly recognized his literary talents, already exercised in the *Summary View*. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was asked to draft the Declaration of Independence.

18. Alexander Campbell. *George Washington, Esqr. General and Commander in Chief of the Continental Army in America. Done from an Original, Drawn from the Life. . . .* [London,] 1775.

In 1775, one of Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress was called home and Thomas Jefferson was sent to Philadelphia to serve in his place. Three days after Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia, Virginia lost another delegate when George Washington left to assume the position of commander of the continental forces. This popular mezzotint portrait of Washington as Commander-in-Chief belongs to a group of popular images characterized as "fictitious"--no painting by Alexander Campbell has been discovered, and no evidence has been found proving that any such painter existed. Washington wrote to his aide, Joseph Reed, that "Mr. Campbell, whom I never saw to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the Commander in Chief, giving him a sufficient portion of terror in his countenance."

19. *The Congress, or the Necessary Politicians.* [London, c. 1775.]

The Continental Congress remained in session through the summer of 1775. Jefferson attended regularly. He did not engage in the debates, but was a vocal and active participant in committees and conversations. His first assignment was to redraft the Congress's Declaration upon Taking up Arms. Although the English public was greatly interested in American affairs, this cartoon of *The Congress, or the Necessary Politicians* reveals that some Englishmen did not think very highly of colonial discourse. A gentleman seated in the privy (a "necessary house") reads a book entitled, *Answer to a P[amphlet En]titled Taxation [No] Tir[anny]*, while another wipes himself with paper from *resolution[s] of the the [C]ongress*. The picture that decorates the privy wall refers to the tarring and feathering of the Boston customs officer John Malcomb in 1774.

20. The Declaration of Independence

Jefferson's reputation for literary talent led fellow members of the Continental Congress to assign him the task of writing a declaration of independence. Jefferson considered writing the Declaration to be among his three most important achievements. He asked that his gravestone be inscribed: "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the Father of the University of Virginia." This first of two broadside editions of the Declaration issued in Rhode Island in 1776 was misdated by the printer "June 13" instead of July 13.

21. The Reverend William Jackson. *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*. . . . 2d. ed. London, 1783.

Following the colonies' declaration of independence from Great Britain, the newly independent states began writing their own state constitutions. Virginia was among the first to do so. Jefferson sent a copy of a proposed constitution to the Assembly, but George Mason's draft had already been accepted as the basis from which the delegates would proceed. Both men called for a bicameral legislature, but Jefferson proposed suffrage requirements that would have extended the vote to most white males.

22. Governor Thomas Jefferson to Colonel [George] Muter. February 2, 1781.

As governor of Virginia between 1779 and 1781, Jefferson had to deal with the most pressing and mundane problems associated with waging war. This letter to Colonel Muter reveals the difficulties and minutiae with which a war-time governor in a war-ravaged state was expected to deal. Jefferson left office with an unfeigned sense of relief in 1781. When

pressed by Edmund Randolph to accept an appointment as a peace commissioner to Europe, Jefferson replied, "I have retired to my farm, my family and books from which I think nothing will ever more separate me." On loan from the John Hay Library.

23. *[Yorktown] No. 2.* [Amsterdam? 1781.]

By 1781, with the Netherlands and Spain joining France in allying themselves with the United States, England had more to worry about than the loss of her North American colonies. In *Yorktown*, an emaciated cow represents British commerce being milked by a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a Dutchman. The British lion howls in the foreground, his foot wounded by a broken teapot. John Bull kneels in prayer, and rats busily gnaw at banknotes. At sea, the British flagship has sunk, while the French fleet sails freely. The British defeat at Yorktown appears in the background: four Englishmen humbly approach an American Indian who sits on a throne surrounded by Justice, Mars, and Hercules. Broken shackles lie at America's feet and a liberty cap rests on a lance in front of the throne.

III. THOMAS JEFFERSON ABROAD

In July, 1784, newly appointed American commissioner Thomas Jefferson departed for France. He would remain abroad for five years. Jefferson's task was formidable: the Congress instructed him and fellow commissioners Benjamin Franklin and John Adams to negotiate as many treaties between the nations of Europe and the United States as they could. Although his term as commissioner lasted only two years, Jefferson's European sojourn was extended when he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France in 1785.

Neither Jefferson nor his two fellow commissioners had a great deal of success in generating commercial treaties between the

nations of Europe and the fledgling United States. Despite the lack of progress on the diplomatic front, Jefferson was far from idle during these years. He traveled extensively and expanded the circle of his European acquaintance. He obtained a lifelong appreciation of classical architecture that would influence any building project in which he participated.

Jefferson also became deeply involved at this time in the dispute over America that raged among European scientists of the period. He tried hard to refute claims that America's environment was fundamentally degenerative and thus harmful to any species living there. He insisted that the climate was positively beneficial. The dispute was far from trivial; either interpretation held profound political, social, and economic implications for the United States. The need to prove to European intellectuals that America possessed an environmentally as well as a politically sound climate was one of the motivating factors behind Jefferson's decision to write his first and only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

Personally satisfying and enriching as Jefferson found his sojourn abroad, it caused him to miss the most important political development of the post-war period: the creation of a new federal constitution.

American Commissioner and Minister to France

Jefferson joined John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in Paris in August, 1784. He quickly found that the United States Congress's lack of authority over the trade of the individual states put America at a distinct commercial and political disadvantage. Although he personally favored the free trade theories of the Scottish economist Adam Smith, Jefferson realized that mercantilism was the cornerstone of Europe's commercial policies. He wrote to James Madison in 1785 that without the power to regulate trade throughout the United States, America

would not command "the smallest token of respect . . . in any part of Europe." In 1785, Congress appointed John Adams Minister to England in hopes that he could convince the English government to end its mercantile policy of excluding the United States from the West Indies trade. Jefferson remained in Paris to succeed Benjamin Franklin as Minister to France.

24. Charles Nicholas Cochin. *D. Beniamin Fraencklin Grand Commisaire plenipotentiare du congres d'Amerique en France.* London, [1777.]

This is one of the most familiar engraved portraits of Jefferson's fellow-Commissioner, Benjamin Franklin. Derived from a painting commissioned by the French King in 1777, it made famous the image of Franklin as a simple, homespun philosopher-statesman. The engraving's popularity reflected the growing "cult of Franklin" in Europe and in France in particular.

25. *John Adams. Born Oct. 20, 1735. Inaug. March 4, 1797. Obt. July 4, 1826* [n.p., n.d.]

To John Adams fell the unenviable task of appearing as American Commissioner at the court of George III of England. His attempts to negotiate a favorable commercial treaty with England were an exercise in frustration. Adams and his wife were received politely enough at Court, but when Adams appeared the following year with his fellow-commissioner Thomas Jefferson, the King thoroughly snubbed them both.

26. Thomas Southard. *His Most Gracious Majesty George the Third.* [London, c. 1785].

In 1788, Jefferson was ordered to England to see if he could assist John Adams in negotiating an advantageous commercial treaty with Great Britain. The mission was wholly unsuccessful. Jefferson enjoyed touring

the English countryside, but his experiences with British officials strengthened what became a life-long antipathy to the English government. A year after his trip to England, Jefferson wrote that in his opinion, the English "require to be treated with the most hauteur. . . . They require to be kicked into good manners."

The Dispute over America

Although Jefferson experienced little diplomatic success, neither he nor any observer could consider his years abroad wasted ones. He attended the Paris salons and immersed himself in European Enlightenment culture. Perhaps most significantly, he quickly became engaged in the dispute over the nature and effects of the American environment that raged among European intellectuals. The French scientist George Buffon believed that the New World's climate was fundamentally degenerative and adversely affected the health and vitality of the species dwelling there, including man. Others, including the Italian intellectual, Filippo Mazzei, disagreed with Buffon's conclusions. Jefferson, not surprisingly, strongly opposed Buffon's thesis. In 1785 the first edition of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* appeared in Paris. Much of the book was a direct refutation of Buffon's theory of American degeneracy.

27. George Louis Leclerc Buffon. *Herrn von Buffons Allemeine Natureschichte*. Berlin, 1771-1774.

The eminent French natural scientist George Buffon argued that New World animals were genetically inferior to their Old World counterparts. He also believed that America's indigenous human population was weaker than people from other continents. This theory formed the basis of his best-known work, *Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere*. The *Histoire* was originally published in 44 volumes between 1749 and 1804. Shown here is

the second of a seven-volume German translation of selections from Buffon's highly influential work.

28. Thomas Jefferson. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Paris, 1785.

Between 1780 and 1782, Jefferson answered in detail twenty-two questions submitted to him by the secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia concerning Virginia's vegetation, animals, minerals, peoples, and customs. He commented extensively on controversial issues such as slavery and religious freedom, and attempted to refute the theory of the degeneration of American species. These responses became the basis for the *Notes on the State of Virginia,* the first and only book Jefferson ever wrote. The first edition of the *Notes* was published in Paris in 1785. It consisted of only two hundred copies and was not intended for general distribution. When Jefferson discovered in 1786 that a Paris bookseller intended to publish a French translation, he reacted with dismay. Jefferson decided to have the *Notes* reprinted in English "to let the world know that it was really not so bad as the French translation had made it appear." The copy shown here is the rare French first edition of 1785, inscribed and autographed by the author.

29. [Filippo Mazzei]. *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionle.* Colle and Paris, 1788.

Filippo Mazzei was an Italian who traveled to North America before the Revolution and settled in Virginia, near Monticello. He became a close friend of Jefferson, who provided Mazzei with notes and materials relating to the climate and natural history of North America. Mazzei's four-volume *Recherches* attempted to refute Buffon and other critics of the New World by lauding the salutary features of the United States' environment, inhabitants, and political system. Mazzei quoted Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* several times.

30. *We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union . . . do ordain and establish this Consitution . . . [at end:] George Washington, President. . . .* .[Philadelphia, 1787.]

Like John Adams, Thomas Jefferson was abroad when the new federal constitution was written in 1787. Jefferson was kept abreast of this crucial event, however, by his young friend James Madison. The copy shown here is the form in which the Constitution was officially distributed to the states for ratification. On the whole, Jefferson approved of the document, although he agreed with his fellow-Virginian George Mason that the absence of a bill of rights was a serious omission. When Jefferson returned to the United States in 1792, he accepted an appointment to the post of Secretary of State in the Washington administration.

IV. FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS: JEFFERSON IN DISSENT

By 1792, disapproval tempered Jefferson's initial enthusiam for the new government. Suspicious of England, Jefferson favored a pro-French policy that George Washington's administration chose to disregard. Jefferson's opposition to the goals and policies of the Washington administration were revealed most clearly in his feud with the Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton was an ardent Federalist. His fiscal goals and political philosophy assumed a need for a powerful central government that could neutralize or utilize the misguided aims of a self-interested electorate. Jefferson found this pessimistic and cynical view of ordinary Americans politically dangerous as well as distasteful. His own view of human nature was much more optimistic. He agreed with Frances Hutcheson and other Scottish philosophers that all men had an inherent moral sense that enabled them to know intuitively the difference between right and wrong. Jefferson's faith that ordinary Americans could and would choose the most talented and moral political leaders lay at the heart of the movement that became known as Jeffersonian Republicanism.

With John Adams' election to the presidency in 1796, Jefferson's disapproval of Federalist policy burgeoned into outright political opposition. A Jeffersonian faction coalesced around opposition to the Federalist-backed Alien and Sedition Acts and to the government's continued pro-British policy. Federalists accused Jeffersonians of being "anarchists" who wished the United States to go the way of France, complete with tumbrils and guillotine. Jeffersonians meanwhile denounced Federalists as monarchical extremists obsessed with reproducing in America England's corrupt system of government. When Jefferson defeated Adams for the presidency in 1800, he considered his victory a second American Revolution.

31. U.S.--Dept. of State, 1790-1793 (Jefferson) Philadelphia, January 21, 1794. *Sir, In pursuance of an instruction from the President of the United States. . . .* [Philadelphia, 1794.]

Disagreements over public policy between Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, early came to epitomize the split between Washington Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans. The newly appointed British foreign Minister George Hammond reported to his superiors that Hamilton belonged to the "party of the English interest." Jefferson, in contrast, held Hammond at arm's length. Hammond complained in 1792 that "Jefferson is in the Virginia interest and that of the French . . . it is his fault we are at a distance." Hammond considered Hamilton "more a man of the world than Jefferson. . . . I like his manners better, and can speak more freely to him." This published letter from Jefferson to Hammond is one example of the diplomatic duel in which the two men engaged.

32a. [Alexander Hamilton.] *Letters of Pacificus: Written in justification of the President's Proclamation of Neutrality.* Philadelphia, 1796.
32b.[James Madison.] *Letters of Helvidius: Written in Reply to Pacificus.* Philadelphia, 1796.

Federalists and Jeffersonians also divided over just what should be the United States' role in the clash between England and France. Jeffersonians believed the policy of neutrality pursued by Presidents Washington and Adams violated the existing treaty between France and the United States. Federalists, meanwhile, supported the executive's effort to remain uninvolved in the clash between these two powerful European nations. Written under the pseudonym of *Pacificus,* Alexander Hamilton is the probable author of a series of letters, reprinted in 1796, that defended George Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. In 1793, James Madison condemned admirers of Hamilton's *Letters* as "foreigners and degenerate citizens . . . who hate our republican government, and the French revolution." His *Letters of Helvidius* also were reprinted in 1796.

33. Thomas Paine. *The Rights of Man.* London, [1792.]

Edmund Burke was among those who condemned the French Revolution. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* was written in direct response to Burke's famous and influential work, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* Like Paine, Jefferson felt the French and the American Revolutions were intimately connected. He wrote privately that he approved of Paine's book; he had "no doubt our citizens [would] rally a second time round the standard of Common Sense." Jefferson coupled his endorsement with the comment that it was high time something was to be "publickly said against the political heresies which have sprung up among us." When the printer who published the Philadelphia edition quoted Jefferson in the preface, these private comments became unintentionally public. The unflattering reference to John Adams was unmistakeable, and the incident drove another wedge between Federalists and Jeffersonians.

34. William Playfair. *The History of Jacobinism, its crimes, cruelities and perfidies. . . .* Philadelphia, 1796.

Those who condemned the French Revolution and its excesses also attacked Jefferson and his followers for supporting it. William Playfair's *History of Jacobinism* is one example of the way in which enemies of the Jeffersonians attempted to discredit them by linking them to events in France. An appendix to the *History* by "Peter Porcupine" made the connection explicit.

35. Legislature of Kentucky. *In the House of Representatives, November 10, 1798. . . .* [Frankfort, Kentucky, 1798.]

Clashes over foreign policy formed the backdrop against which were played out disagreements between Jeffersonians and Federalists on domestic issues. The Alien and Sedition Acts were a Federalist attempt to curtail what they believed were unjustified and dangerous attempts to undermine the central government. Jeffersonians condemned the Acts as part of a general Federalist monarchical program of extinguishing the political rights of the individual states and their citizens. Jefferson secretly prepared a written denunciation of the Acts and their supporters. On November 10, 1798, Kentucky's legislature adopted Jefferson's so-called "Kentucky Resolutions." The copy seen here was among the earliest printings of the "Resolutions."

36. Thomas Cooper. *Political Essays Originally inserted in the Northumberland Gazette.* Northumberland, 1799.

Ten persons were fined and imprisoned under the Sedition Act for libeling the United States government and the President. The most famous of these was Thomas Cooper. Cooper was prosecuted for views expressed in his *Political Essays* of 1799.

37. [Benjamin Franklin Bache.] *Truth Will Out! The foul Charges of the Tories against the Editor of the Aurora. . . .* [Philadelphia, 1798.]

A grandson of Benjamin Franklin was also among those arrested under the Sedition Act. Benjamin Franklin Bache was editor and publisher of the Jeffersonian newspaper, the *Aurora*. *Truth Will Out!* was Bache's personal protest against his arrest.

38. *[Thomas Jefferson milking a cow.]* Newburyport, Mass., [c. 1808.]

Debates over foreign policy did not end with Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800. The United States seemed fated to be caught between the wartime commercial policies of France and England. In an attempt to force England to accept the free trade philosophy in which he so ardently believed, President Jefferson levied a trade embargo against Great Britain between 1807 and 1808. New England traders especially suffered under the embargo, and Federalists made strong gains in this region in the election of 1808. In this cartoon, Thomas Jefferson is shown milking the cow of commerce, while John Bull holds the horn and Napoleon holds the tail.

39. Rembrandt Peale. *Tho. Jefferson. President of the United States of America. Painted by Stuart, in America.* [London,] 1802.

Although the title of this engraving claims it was modeled on a portrait by Gilbert Stuart, it was actually derived from a painting done by Rembrandt Peale. Peale's portrait depicted vice president Thomas Jefferson at the age of 57. It was more popular during Jefferson's lifetime than any other likeness, and became the prototype for a widely distributed series of American and European engravings.

IV. JEFFERSON ON RELIGION AND SLAVERY

No discussion of Jefferson would be complete without considering his views on religion and slavery. On these issues as in so much else, Jefferson was a man of his time. His positions on both religion and slavery were derived from a complex mixture of Enlightenment philosophy, classical republicanism, and the influence of eighteenth-century Virginia culture and beliefs.

Thomas Jefferson and American Religious Freedom

A variety of influences shaped American religious beliefs and institutions. In Virginia, anticlericalism, religious revivalism, and imperial policy weakened the Church of England's political and social ascendency. The Revolution was an important influence in the formation of Virginia's and the other former colonies' religious policies. Following the war, movements to separate religion from state policy gained strength throughout the nation. These attempts met with varying degrees of success. Social conservatism among religious liberals like John Adams prevented dissenting sects in Massachusetts from breaking up the powerful alliance between the Congregational Church and the government there. Ardent supporters of the Revolution, the Congregational clergy had not suffered the same loss of credibility as had their Anglican counterparts in the South. The most dramatic developments in the realm of religious liberty occurred not in Massachusetts, but in Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson was one of Virginia's strongest advocates of separating church and state. His own personal and public religious sensibilities owed more to Enlightenment influences and the Church of England's declining authority than they did to the popular evangelicalism of the Great Awakening. A deist who disbelieved in the divinity of Christ, Jefferson anticipated that

almost all Americans would eventually embrace Unitarianism. His own liberal views led him to conclude that dominant sects must be prevented from using government as a means of enforcing religious conformity. That Jefferson numbered writing and sponsoring Virginia's statute for religious freedom among his most important achievements attests to the strength of his commitment to this principle.

40. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. *Instructions from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to their Missionaries in North America.* London, 1756.

Like most of Virginia's colonial elite, Jefferson was born into and raised in the state-sponsored Church of England. Despite its privileged status, the Anglican Church encountered many difficulties in Virginia. Parishes suffered from a continual shortage of ministers. The colony's plantation economy encouraged geographic dispersion that further separated the clergy from their flocks. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701 to combat these and other adverse conditions. The Instructions of 1756 shown here exhort missionaries to "promote Brotherly Love and Christian Charity," and to "inculcate Submission to Government and Obedience to authority."

41. The Reverend Samuel Davies. *An Account of a Remarkable Work of Grace, or the Great Success of the Gospel in Virginia. . . .* London: 1752.

Colonial Virginia's vast and unsettled territory made the task of administering even a state-supported church a difficult one. Growing numbers of dissenters and an evangelical revival in the 1740s eroded still further the authority of Virginia's Anglican establishment. Samuel Davies' *Account* chronicles the course in Virginia of what became known as the Great Awakening and illustrates its adverse effects upon the Church of England there.

42. *An attempt to land a Bishop in America.* [London, 1768.]

Upon his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1768, Lord Hillsborough supported a plan to send an Anglican bishop to North America. The bishop was never sent, but this cartoon depicts what might have happened if he had come to America at this time. It graphically illustrates how many colonists connected Anglicanism with unpopular British policies. This perceived alliance further weakened the Church of England's authority in America.

43. Ethan Allen. *Reason the Only Oracle of Man.* Bennington, 1784.

While unpopular British policies undermined the Church of England's influence in America, a rising tide of deism besieged American churches in general at the end of the eighteenth century. Deism was a product of the anticlericalism and Biblical criticism that characterized the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Although they believed in God, deists rejected many fundamental Christian tenets such as the divinity of Christ and the Trinity. Like many other prominent Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and John Adams, Thomas Jefferson was a deist. Deistical views were not confined to elite circles, however. Ethan Allen was and is best known for being a Revolutionary War hero and an activist in the founding of the state of Vermont. By no means an intellectual, Allen still felt strongly enough about what he believed to be the errors and fallacies of Christianity to take up his pen against them late in life. The result was a work identified by the Congregationalist minister and Yale President Timothy Dwight as "the first formal publication, in the United States, openly directed against the Christian religion."

44. Paine, Thomas *The Age of Reason.* Boston, 1794.

Thomas Paine was a political radical all his life and played an enormously important role in expressing and galvanizing American revolutionary sentiment. His religious radicalism was less well-known. Paine's views concerning orthodox Christianity became apparent when he

published the *Age of Reason,* 1794-1796. Religion, as always, was a sensitive matter. Writers were defined not only on the basis of their belief in theological tenets such as the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity but also on whether they appeared friendly or antagonistic to Christianity. Paine's deism unsettled many Americans, including those who privately ascribed to similar doctrines. Many such men, including George Washington, turned against Paine and condemned his alleged atheism. In contrast, Jefferson remained Paine's friend and protector. His public support for this now-unpopular radical proved a heavy political liability.

45. James Madison, *The Anti-Tyther: A Memorial and Remonstrance.* Dublin: 1786.

James Madison wrote this pamphlet in opposition to a bill then before the Virginia Legislature known as the "Teacher's Bill." Previously, all Virginians had been required to pay taxes to support the Church of England. Under the system proposed in the Teacher's Bill, people would still have to pay taxes to support a church and a minister, but they could choose to which minister and church their money should go. Many prominent Virginians supported the bill, among them George Washington and Patrick Henry. Madison, however, called for the complete separation of religion and the state. The defeat of the Teacher's Bill cleared the way for Jefferson's statute guaranteeing complete religious freedom and the elimination of state-sponsored religion.

46. Virginia. *A collection of all such acts of the General Assembly of Virginia. . . .* Richmond, 1794.

Jefferson considered writing and sponsoring Virginia's statute for religious freedom to be one of his most important achievements. The act aimed to protect, he said, "the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination."

Slaveholder and Republican

Thomas Jefferson was born and raised in a society where slavery was an obvious and accepted fact of life. He bought and sold slaves from the time of his majority until his death. Unlike George Washington, Jefferson did not manumit his slaves after his death. Since slaves were major financial assets, manumission could be extremely costly. However, like Washington and many other prominent eighteenth-century Americans, Jefferson feared and condemned the institution of slavery.

47. *Virginia Gazette*, January 20, 1776.

When Jefferson became president in 1800, an estimated 900,000 African Americans lived in perpetual bondage throughout the United States, and slavery had existed in Virginia for over seven generations. Although Jefferson was an early critic of the institution of slavery, he and most Americans accepted it as an essential prerequisite to a prosperous tobacco economy. Perhaps just as importantly, slavery was woven into the fabric of everyday life. Few Whites, including Jefferson, could imagine a society in which the two races mingled freely on equal terms. The slave advertisements in this issue of the *Virginia Gazette* graphically illustrate the way in which slavery was perceived and accepted as part of eighteenth-century Virginia's culture and economy.

48. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia.* London, 1787.

Jeffersons' attitude toward Africans stood in decided contrast to his attitude toward Native Americans. His determination to prove that the environment of the Americas was as supportive of healthy growth as that of Europe led him to declare the total equality of the continent's native inhabitants. Since African slaves were not indigenous to the Americas, Jefferson labored under no such compulsion to acknowledge their equality.

His own experiences as a slaveholder and the pervasive racist bias of the times instead persuaded him of their intellectual inferiority.

49a. Benjamin Banneker. *Benjamin Banneker's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia Almanack. . . . 1792.* Baltimore, [1791.]
49b. Benjamin Banneker. *Copy of a Letter from Benamin Banneker to the Secretary of State with his Answer.* Philadelphia, 1792.

Despite the achievements of African Americans like Benjamin Banneker, Jefferson remained unconvinced of the potential for large numbers of free Africans to live successfully and prosper in the United States, and he was an early proponent of the idea that free Blacks should be encouraged to return to Africa. Although he believed that depriving any person of their freedom violated their most fundamental right to liberty, he worried about the consequences of liberation.

50. *Toussaint l'ouverture Chef des Noirs Insurgés.* Paris, [c. 1800.]

Like almost all slaveholders, Jefferson worried about the possibility of a slave revolt. His belief that African Americans had been wrongly deprived of their natural rights enhanced his apprehension that a bloody insurrection of slaves against their tyrannical masters could occur in the United States. Jefferson saw his worst fears confirmed when the slaves of Santo Domingo launched a successful rebellion in 1791. What became known as the Haitian Revolution began in the aftermath of the French Revolution, but its local context was a struggle between whites and mulattos for economic power. Toussaint L'Ouverture, a former slave, became supreme commander of the armies of St. Domingo. The bloodshed ended in 1804 with the creation of Haiti as the world's first black republic and the second republic to be created in the Americas after the founding of the United States. Despite the fact that the newly liberated freedmen set up a republican government, Jefferson remained deeply fearful and mistrustful of the new Haitian government.

VI. JEFFERSON AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS THROUGH THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

The books in this section illustrate Thomas Jefferson's pursuit of happiness through the contemplative life

Jefferson saw himself, like a Cicero, duty-bound to public service but personally longing for a private life. At moments he wished that he could have been a scientist, farmer, architect, or musician and not committed by the "enormities of the times" to be a politician. To his contemporaries, Jefferson was each of these and more; but what distinguished Jefferson was his fundamental desire to put his knowledge and interests to practical use for the improvement of mankind and in particular young America. The formation of his three libraries and his life at Monticello provide a perfect example.

The formation of a personal library was integral to Jefferson's concept of the contemplative life. He used the classification scheme favored by Francis Bacon which regarded the faculties of mind--memory, reason, and imagination--as the proper basis of the organization of knowledge into the three primary units of history, philosophy, and fine arts. That his books were to serve the public is made evident by his stated purpose of collecting "particularly what belongs to the American statesman" and by the sale of his second library of 6,487 volumes to the Federal government to replace the some 3,000 volumes in the Library of Congress burned in 1814 by the British.

At Monticello, Jefferson could pursue in tranquility his encyclopaedic interests: the classics, natural history, music, architecture, landscape design, agronomy, climatology, botany and inventions and to entertain and correspond with his family, friends and strangers. Jefferson could also watch through his telescope the construction of the University of Virginia, his

"academical village,"--the physical embodiment of the faculties of the mind, where young statesmen would be properly prepared to serve the young nation.

Natural History

51. Mark Catesby. *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*. London, 1771.

Jefferson's interest in flora and fauna made him a natural admirer of Mark Catesby (1679-1749). In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* he referred to Catesby's list of birds and he may also have used Catesby for other information. Europeans as well as other Americans shared Thomas Jefferson's interest in natural history. In response to a request from his Parisian friend Mme. de Tesse, Jefferson arranged in 1786 to send numerous American plants and seeds to France. Thomas Jefferson asked that these be sent aboard "the first vessell from Appomattox or James River for Havre."

52. William Bartram (1739-1823) *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida.* Philadelphia, 1791.

William Bartram, born and raised on the famous Bartram estate in Philadelphia, spent five years on his travels (1773-1778). With Jefferson's backing behind him, he might have, but for ill health, been the botanist on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1803. A friend of Jefferson's, Bartram sent to Monticello the seeds of a silk tree, strawberries, and possibly other plants. Bartram, like Jefferson, was struck by the beauties and mysteries of the natural world. He marveled in his introduction to his *Travels* how the world was "a glorious apartment of the boundless palace of the sovereign Creator . . . furnished with an infinite variety of animated scenes . . . inexpressibly beautiful and pleasing, equally free to the inspection and enjoyment of all his creatures."

53. Benjamin Smith Barton. *A memoir concerning the fascinating faculty which has been ascribed to the rattlesnake and other American serpeants.* . . . Philadelphia, 1796.

Benjamin Barton (1766-1815) was a professor of natural history and botany at the University of Pennsylvania. He was, like Jefferson, a member of the American Philosophical Society. Barton named a plant "Jeffersonia" in recognition of Jefferson's "knowledge of natural history . . . [e]specially in . . . botany and zoology." According to Barton, Jefferson's knowledge of these fields was "equalled by that of few persons in the United States."

54. Carl von Linné. *Dissertatio Medico-Botanica, Sistens Specifica Canadensium.* . . . Skara, [1756.]

Linnaeus, a Swedish naturalist, was the first person to develop a universal binomial system of classification of plants and animals. Jefferson praised Linnaeus for "uniting all nations under one language in Natural History." The desire to "communicate intelligibly with one another" was reflected in Jefferson's knowledge of Latin, French and Italian. Jefferson used the Linnaen system to classify native plants in his *Notes on Virginia.* The text shown here lists plants classified by Benjamin Smith Barton's father.

Landscape Design

55. Robert Castell. *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated.* London, 1728.

This book, of which Jefferson owned a copy, shows, among other things, Castell's conception of the younger Pliny's urban and rural villas, based upon Pliny's descriptions. Of particular influence in the eighteenth century was Castell's rendering of the younger Pliny's rural garden, shown here. Monticello exhibits the same hierarchical integration of living

quarters, service buildings and landscape in which formal areas are juxtaposed with naturalistic ones. Jefferson, like many of his contemporaries, associated the natural method of gardening depicted in Castell with republican virtues of liberty, reason, and tolerance.

56. Thomas Whately. *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by descriptions.* (On loan from the Rhode School of Design).

While in England, Jefferson toured English country houses with Whately's *Observations* in hand. The accuracy of Whately's descriptions of various gardens amazed Jefferson. He admired English and French Romantic gardens which exhibited what Whately called "the excellence of park and garden." Jefferson experimented with this form at Monticello, spotting the lawn with flower beds and circling the hill upon which the house stands with a series of paths. This copy of Whately's *Observations* was owned by Frederick Law Olmstead.

Architecture

57. Robert Morris. *Rural Architecture: consisting of rural designs and elevations for buildings in the country.* London, 1750.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Jefferson bemoaned the state of American architecture, writing that "the genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land." While abroad, he sent to the new Virginia capital of Richmond designs and a model for a new state capitol based on the Maison Carré in Nimes. For Jefferson, buildings like the Maison Carré exemplified beauty and republican purity. Such edifices, public as well as private, thus served an important educational function, by instilling classical republican values in all Americans. Jefferson returned from France with a permanent love of French and Roman architecture and the first collection of French architectural designs in America. As a result of his new experience, he tore down his partially built house at Monticello.

Using elements of neo-classical French and Virginian and English neo-Palladian architecture, Jefferson created a unique mountaintop home. The inspiration for the new Monticello's facade came from similar designs in two English sources: James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728) and, shown here, Robert Morris' *Rural Architecture* (1750).

58. Marquis de Chastellux. *Voyage de M. le Chevalier de Chastellux en Amerique Septentrionale,* Paris, 1786.

The Marquis de Chastellux (1734-1788) was a member of the French Academy and a Major General in Rochambeau's army. He was one of many visitors to Monticello. In his distinguished *Travels*, Chastellux included much information on America that Jefferson happily supplied and described Jefferson effusively as a natural philosopher, geometrician, musician, astronomer, and statesman. The map shows Chastellux's route through Virginia with his stay at Monticello.

59. Sir Benjamin Thompson Rumford. *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical.* Boston, 1798.

Benjamin Thompson was an American-born Tory, spy, British officer, emigré to England and then to Bavaria, grand chamberlain to the Elector of Bavaria, inventor, physicist, and founder of the Royal Institute with Joseph Banks. Rumford invented a double boiler and drip coffee pot, improved designs for fireplaces, and did important research on heat. Jefferson improved on Rumford's design for making fireplaces more efficient.

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DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, HUMANIST PRINTER

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21. Binding Tools by Adolph Cuzin.

22. Christopher Columbus. *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. [Rome: S. Plannck, 1493.]

23. Christopher Columbus. *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. [Basle: J. Wolff, 1493.]

24. George Parker Winship. *John Carter Brown Library, a history*. Boston: Merrymount Press, 1914. Courtesy of the John Nicholas Brown Center for the Study of American Civilization.

25. John Carter Brown Library. *Facsimile of the first issue of the Gazeta de Lima.* Introduction by George Parker Winship. Boston: Merrymount Press for the John Carter Brown Library, 1908.

26. Daniel Berkeley Updike to George Parker Winship, September 3, 1908. [ALS]

27. John Carter Brown Library. *Facsimile of the first issue of the Gazeta de Lima.* Introduction by George Parker Winship. Boston: Merrymount Press for the John Carter Brown Library, 1908. Copy 2.

28. *The Gazeta de Lima.* Lima, 1744.

29. John Carter Brown Library. *Books printed in Lima and elsewhere in South America after 1800.* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1908.

30. Pedro Font. *Diario ... en el viage que hizo à`Monterey.* [Ms.] [Tubutama, 1777].

31. Pedro Font. *San Francisco Bay and California in 1776.* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1911.

32. Daniel Berkeley Updike to George Parker Winship, May 13, 1911. [ALS]

33. John Bianchi to George Parker Winship, July 13, 1911. [ALS]

34. Lawrence C. Wroth. *The first century of the John Carter Brown Library*. Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, Merrymount Press, Boston, 1946.

UPDIKE AND LAWRENCE WROTH: FACSIMILES OF ITALIAN WORKS

35. Daniel Berkley Updike and Lawrence C. Wroth, Feb. 26, Mar. 30, April 12, May 15, June 10, June 17, 1926. [6 ALS]

36. *A portfolio honoring Harold Hugo*. Meriden, Conn.: Meriden-Stinehour Incorporated, 1978.

37. Lawrence C. Wroth to Daniel Berkeley Updike, December 18, 1926, and Daniel Berkeley Updike to Lawrence C. Wroth, Dec. 20, 1926. [2 ALS]

38. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de Re de Spagna*. Venice, 1504.

FRENCH REPORTS

39. Charles Lallemant. *Lettre du pere Charles L'Allemant*. Paris: Jean Boucher, 1627.

40. Lawrence C. Wroth to John Bianchi, Sept. 10, 1941. [ALS]

41. John Bianchi to Lawrence C. Wroth, Sept. 12, 1941. [ALS]

42. Lawrence C. Wroth. *Report to the Corporation of Brown University.* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1941.

UPDIKE, WINSHIP, AND WROTH:

17th and 18th CENTURY PRINTING IN BRITAIN AND ENGLISH COLONIES.

43. William Palfrey and Moses Brown. *The course of true love in colonial times [1761].* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1905.

44. James Browne. *James Browne, his writings in prose and verse [1731].* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1917.

45. John Carter Brown Library. *Three proclamations concerning the lottery for Virginia, 1613-1620.* Providence: Printed by the Merrymount Press, Boston, 1917.

46. Great Britain. *[Proclamation concerning the lottery for Virginia].* London: Robert Barker, 1620.

47. Lawrence C. Wroth to Daniel Berkeley Updike, July 15, 1926. [ALS]

48. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments.* Philadelphia: Robert Aitkin, 1782.

49. Lawrence C. Wroth to Daniel Berkeley Updike, August 30, and September 7, 1928. [2 ALS]

50. John Smith. *The true travels, adventures, & observations of Captaine John Smith.* London: Printed by J. H. for Thomas Slater, 1630.

51. Smith, John. *The true travels, adventures, & observations of Captaine John Smith.* Introduction John G. Fletcher, bibliographical note Lawrence C. Wroth. New York: Rimington & Hooper, 1930.

52. Lawrence C. Wroth to Daniel Berkeley Updike, Oct. 23, 1928. [ALS]

53. Lawrence C. Wroth. *The colonial printer.* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1931.

54. John Markland. *Typographia; an ode on printing.* Williamsburg: William Parks, 1730.

55. Daniel Berkeley Updike to George Parker Winship, November 30, 1904. [ALS]

56. Daniel Berkeley Updike. *Richard Smith first English settler of the Narragansett country, Rhode Island.* Boston: Merrymount Press, 1937.

JOHN HAY LIBRARY SHORT TITLE LIST THE HUMANIST PRINTER

Daniel Berkeley Updike and American & British Fine Printing

1. Geoffrey Chaucer. **The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer**. Hammersmith, [London]: Kelmscott Press, 1896. Rare Books Collection. Acquired through the Bequest of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

2. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. **Hand and Soul**. [Hammersmith, London: The Kelmscott Press, 1895]. Copy 1: Starred Books Collection, Gift of Carrie Louise Ritchie; Copy 2: Harry Lyman Koopman Collection, Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902

3. Protestant Episcopal Church. **The Book of Common Prayer**. New York: Printed for the Committee, [The De Vinne Press], 1893. Starred Books Collection. From the Goddard-Iselin Family Library.

4. Protestant Episcopal Church. **The Altar Book**. Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1896. Loaned by the John Carter Brown Library.

5. Joel Barlow. **The Columbiad**. Philadelphia: Printed by Fry and Kammerer for C. and A. Conrad and Co.; Baltimore: Conrad Lucas and Co., 1807. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

6. Thomas Say. **American Entomology, or Descriptions of the Insects of North America**. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum, Published by Samuel Augustus Mitchell, William Brown, Printer, 1824 - 1828. Lownes Collection of Significant Books in the History of Science. Bequest of Albert E. Lownes, Class of 1920.

7. Charles Lucian Bonaparte. **American Ornithology, Or, the Natural History of Birds. Inhabiting the United States, Not Given by Wilson**. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey; London: John Miller; William Brown, Printer, 1825 - 1833. Lownes Collection of Significant Books in the History of Science. Bequest of Albert E. Lownes, Class of 1920.

8. The Native American. **A Gift for the People**. Philadelphia: Hector Orr, 1845. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

9. Samuel N. Dickinson. **The Boston Almanac**. Boston: Published by Thomas Groom & Co., Printed by Samuel N. Dickinson & Company, 1839; 1842; 1844. Rollo G. Silver Collection. Gift of Alice G. Silver, Class of 1932.

10. George Washington. **Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States of America.** New York: [Robert Craighead, Printer], 1850. Starred Books Collection. Gift of John Carter Brown.

11. Henry Noel Humphreys. **The Art of Illumination and Missal Painting. A Guide to Modern Illuminators Illustrated by a Series of Specimens**. London: H. G. Bohn, [Charles Whittingham, Chiswick Press], 1849. Starred Books. Acquired through the Bequest of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

12. Joel Munsell. **The Typographical Miscellany.** Albany: Joel Munsell, 1850. Rollo G. Silver Collection. Gift of Alice G. Silver, Class of 1932.

13. Reuben A. Guild. **The Librarian's Manual: A Treatise on Bibliography** New York: Charles B. Norton, [Printed by J. Munsell, Albany, New York, 1858] Brown University Archives

14. Charles Munsell. **A Collection of Songs of the American Press, and Other Poems Relating to the Art of Printing.** Albany: [Joel Munsell], 1868. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

15. Nicolas François de Neufchâteau. **Conseils d'un Pere a Son Fils Imités des Vers.** Albany: Joel Munsell, 1871. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

16. Eugene H. Munday. **Cabinet Poems.** Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1879. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

17. Sir Thomas Malory. **Le Morte Darthur. The Birth Life and Acts of King Arthur of his Noble Knights of the Round Table.** London: J. M. Dent; Turnbull & Spears, Printers, Edinburgh, 1893 - 1894. Starred Books Collection. Gift of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

18. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. **The House of Life.** [Boston: Copeland and Day], [Printed by John Wilson and Son, Cambridge], 1894. Starred Books Collection.

19. [C. H. St. John Hornby] **A Descriptive Bibliography of the Books Printed at The Ashendene Press MDCCCXCV - MCMXXXV, [1895 - 1935].** [London: The Ashendene Press, 1935]. Inscribed by C. H. St John Hornby to George Hornby, March, 1940. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection . Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

20. [T. J. Cobden-Sanderson] **Catalogue Raisonné of Books Printed & Published at the Doves Press, 1900 -- 1916.** [London: Printed by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at The Doves Press, Compositor: W. Jenkins, Pressman: Albert Lewis, 1916]. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

21. Church of England. **The Book of Common Prayer; The Prayer Book of King Edward VII.** [Campden, Gloucestershire: The Guild of Handicraft, Essex House, 1903]. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

22. Matthew Arnold. **Empedocles on Etna, A Dramatic Poem.** [Portland, Maine: Reprinted by Thomas B. Mosher, 1900]. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

23. Thomas B. Mosher. **Silver Monogram Paperweight.** Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

24. Lucien Pissarro & Charles Ricketts. **De La Typographie et De L'Harmonie de la Page Imprimée. William Morris et son Influence sur les Arts et Métiers.** France: En Vente chez Floury, Paris; England: Sold by Hacon & Ricketts, London; [The Ballantyne Press, 1898]. Starred Books Collection.

25. T. Sturge Moore. **A Brief Account of the Origin of the Eragny Press & A Note on the Relation of the Printed Book as a Work of Art to Life ... A Bibliographical List of the Eragny Books.** [London: The Eragny Press, 1903]. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

26. Charles Ricketts. **A Defence of the Revival of Printing.** [London]: [Printed at the Ballantyne Press, Decorated by C. Ricketts, Sold by Hacon & Ricketts, 1899]. Starred Books Collection. Bequest of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

27. Charles Ricketts. **A Bibliography of the Books Issues by Hacon & Ricketts.** [London: Sold by C. Ricketts; New York: John Lane; Printed by the Ballantyne Press, Published by Hacon and Ricketts, 1904]. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection. Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

28. Edward Robeson Taylor. **Into the Light.** San Francisco: D. P. Elder and Morgan Shepard, Printed by the Stanley-Taylor Company], 1902. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

29. Elbert and Alice Hubbard. **Justinian and Theodora: A Drama -- Being a Chapter of History and the One Gleam of Light during the Dark Ages.** [East Aurora, New York: The Roycrofters, 1906]. Dard Hunter Collection. Gift of W. Easton Louttit, Jr., Class of 1925.

30. Alice Hubbard. **Women's Work, Being an Inquiry and an Assumption.** [East Aurora, New York: The Roycrafters, 1908]. Dard Hunter Collection. Acquired though the Bequest of W. Easton Louttit, Jr., Class of 1925.

31. [T.E. Lawrence] **Seven Pillars of Wisdom, A Triumph.** [London: Text and decorations printed by Manning Pike with the assistance of H. J. Hodgson; Plates by Charles Whittingham and Griggs], 1926. Rare Book Collection. Gift of Dr. Francis H. Chafee, Class of 1927.

32. Stanley Morison. **Fra Luca de Pacioli.** New York: The Grolier Club, [Designed by Brude Rogers],1933. Starred Books Collection. Bequest of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

33. Homer. **The Odyssey of Homer,** [Translated by T.E. Lawrence]. [London: Printed and published by Sir Emery Walker, Wilfred Merton and Bruce Rogers], 1932. Starred Books Collection. Gift of Dr. Francis H. Chafee, Class of 1927.

John Hay Library Exhibition Room Wall Case:

34. Abraham Lincoln. **Address at Gettysburg.** [Boston: D. B. Updike, 1893]. McLellan Lincoln Collection.

35. The Merrymount Press. **A List of Books Published by D. B. Updike.** Boston: The Merrymount Press, [1904]. Broadsides Collection.

36. Robert Anning Bell. **Drawings for The Altar Book**. Pen and ink, Boston, 1896. Loaned by the John Carter Brown Library.

37. Geoffrey Chaucer. Vellum Specimen Sheet from The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Hammersmith, [London]: Kelmscott Press, 1896. Harry Lyman Koopman Collection . Gift of Philip D. Sherman, Class of 1902.

Reader Services Desk Area:

38. Protestant Episcopal Church. **The Book of Common Prayer & Administration of the Sacraments ... 1928.** [Boston: Printed by D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1930]. Starred Books Collection, John Hay Library. Bequest of John M. Crawford, Jr., Class of 1937.

39. Protestant Episcopal Church. **Trial Pages for The Book of Common Prayer.** [Boston: Printed by D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1927]. Loaned by the John Carter Brown Library.

40. **The Holy Bible.** Oxford: Printed at the University Press, [Under the direction of Bruce Rogers], 1935. Rare Book Collection. Gift of John M. Crawford, Class of 1937

Reading Room Wall Cases:

41. Hermann Zapf. **Poetry Through Typography: Poems Selected by Walter Schmiele and Peter Frank Introduction by Walter Schmiele and Hermann Zapf.** New York: Kelly/Winterton Press, 1993. Harris Collection of American Poetry & Plays.

42. Shaped Poetry. **A Suite of 30 Typographic Prints, Chronicling this literary form from 300 bc to the present. Edited with an essay on shaped poetry & notes on the selections by Glenn Todd, and with printer's notes by Andrew Hoyem.** San Francisco: The Arion Press, 1981. Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays.

PROVIDENCE ATHENAEUM SHORT TITLE LIST HUMANIST PRINTER

1. King Charles II **The Charter Granted by His Majesty King Charles II. to the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America.** Newport,Rhode Island: Printed by the Widow Franklin and to be sold at the Town School House, 1744.

2. **Catalogue of all the Books, Belonging to the Providence Library.** Providence, N.E.: Printed and Sold by Waterman and Russell, at the new printing office, at the Paper-Mill, 1768.

3. **The Rhode-Island Clerk's Magazine.** Providence: Printed by Nathaniel Heaton, Jur. for Henry Cushing; and sold at his bookstore and Circulating Library, Westminster St.; sign of the Bible and Anchor, 1803.

POETRY

4. **John Carter** (1745-1814) photograph of a pastel likeness courtesy of Rhode Island Historical Society.

5. Arnold, Josias Lyndon esq. **Poems.** Providence: printers Carter and Wilkinson, 1797.

6. Palmer, Fanny Purdy. **A List of Rhode Island Literary Women, 1726-1892.** Providence: printer E.L. Freeman & Son, State Printers, 1893.

7. Whitman, Sarah Helen. **Hours of Life and Other Poems.** Providence:George H. Whitney, printer Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1853.

8. Avery, David. **A Poetical Address on Temperance.** Pawtucket, R.I.: printer A.W. Pearce, 1855.

10. Anon. **The Dorriad, and the Great Slocum Dinner**, introduction, remarks and annotations by Henry Bowen Anthony, Providence: Sidney S. Rider & Brother, 1870.

11. Nomad, Samuel. (dba. S. Foster Damon) **Nightmare Cemetery, A Halloween Frolic**, Providence: printed by Ilse Buchert (later Nesbitt), 1964 copy # 81 of 200. color woodcuts.

BUSINESS DIRECTORIES

11. **Providence Directory.** Providence: Published and printed by Hugh H. Brown, 1828.

12. **The Providence Almanac and Business Directory for the Year 1843.** Providence: Printed and published by Benjamin F. Moore, 1843.

13. **The Providence Directory.** Adams, Sampson, & Co. Publishers, printer A. Crawford Greene, 1860.

PAMPHLETS

14. **First Annual Report of the Employment Society.** Providence, R.I.: printers Knowles, Vose & Company,1838.

15. **Constitution of the Union Congregational Anti-Slavery Society,Providence: Formed April 22, 1839. With an Address to the Beneficent, Richmond Street, and High Street Congregational Churches.** Providence: printer Hugh H. Brown, 1839.

16. **The Close of the Late Rebellion in Rhode Island.** Providence: printer B. Cranston & Co., 1842.

17. **Proceedings of a Public Meeting of the Citizens of Providence, Held in The Beneficent Congregational Church, March 7, 1854, To protest Against Slavery in Nebraska; with the Addresses of The Speakers.** Providence: printer Knowles, Anthony & Co.,1854.

18. **A Constitutional Manual for the National American Party.** Providence: printers A. Crawford Greene & Brother,1856.

19. **Sockanosset Allotment.** Central Falls, Rhode Island: printer E.L. Freeman and Co. [1873].

20. Edward L. Freeman (1835-1907) photograph of an engraving Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

LOCAL HISTORY

21. Rogers, Horatio. **Private Libraries of Providence.** Providence: printer Providence Press Co., 1878.

22. Sherman, Clarence E. **The Providence Public Library.** Providence: printer Akerman-Standard Co., 1937.

23. Leonard, Grace F. and W. Chesley Worthington. **The Providence Athenaeum, A Brief History 1753-1939.** Providence: printer Akerman-Standard Co., 1939.

24. Stillwell, Margaret Bingham. **While Benefit Street Was Young.** Providence: printer Akerman-Standard Co., 1943.

25. Stillwell, Margaret Bingham. **The Pagent of Benefit Street.** Providence: printer Akerman-Standard Co., 1945.

26. Miner, George Leland. **Angell's Lane.** Providence: printer Akerman-Standard Co., 1948.

27. Bartlett, John Russell. **Bibliography of Rhode Island.** Providence: printer Alfred Anthony, 1864.

. Bartlett, John Russell. **A History of the Destruction of His itannic Majesty's Schooner Gaspee.** Providence: printer A. awford Greene, 1861.

. **Printers and Printing in Providence 1762-1907.** Providence: inter Providence Printing Company, 1907.

. Members of Providence Typographical Union # 33 in 1907.

. Chapin, Howard M. **Early Rhode Island Printing.** Providence: inter Akerman-Standard Company, 1938.

. Buffum, Clara. **Hand-Bound Books.** Providence: printer Akerman-andard Co., 1935.

. Munro, Wilfred H. and Ellen R. Luther. **Picturesque Rhode land.** Providence: printers J.A. and R.A. Reid, 1881.

. George H. Utter (1854-1912) photograph urtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

. **Providence Gazette.** Providence: printer John Carter (Saturday ly 16, 1808).

. **The Rhode Island American.** Providence: publisher Dunham & wkins (Tuesday January 9, 1810).

RISD LIBRARY SHORT TITLE LIST HUMANIST PRINTER EXHIBITION

1. Benson, John Howard, and Arthur Graham Cary. **The Elements of Lettering.** Newport, R.I.: John Stevens, 1940 (colophon, Merrymount Press in the month of May).

2. Arrighi, Ludovico degli. **The First Writing Book.** Translator, John Howard Benson. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Harvard College Library and the Newberry Library, 1954 printed by Meriden Gravure Company. Specially bound in three fascicles with an original leaf from Benson's manuscript.

3. Arrighi, Ludovico degli. **The First Writing Book.** Translator, John Howard Benson. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Harvard College Library and the Newberry Library, 1954 printed by Meriden Gravure Company.

4. Tee shirt from the Rhode Island School of Design Book Store with the calligraphic symbol RISD designed by John Howard Benson.

5. Benson, John Howard and Arthur Graham Cary **The Elements of Lettering.** Newport, R.I.: John Stevens, 1940 (colophon, Merrymount Press in the month of May).

6. **Flags of the Old State House Newport, R.I.** Wood engravings in color by John Howard Benson. Newport, R.I.: Old State House Inc. (colophon printed by John Howard Benson at the Berry Hill Press, Newport, R.I.). [Dec. 26, 1942 date on foreword]

7. Hofer, Philip. **John Howard Benson and His Work,1901-1956.** preface Lawrence C. Wroth, introduction Rudolph Ruzicka. New York: The Typophiles, 1957. composed in Bembo at The Stinehour Press,printed at Meriden Gravure.

8. **What Use Is Art Anyway ? Six Broadcasts Sponsored by Boston Museum of Fine Arts,** 1937. title essay by Ananda Coomarswamy, other essays 2. "Art for Art's Sake?" Coomarswamy. 3. "The Four Artistic Essentials" Graham Carey. 4. "Essential Purpose in Art" John Howard Benson. 5. "Technical Essentials in Art" Graham Carey. 6. "Essential Image in Art" John Howard Benson. Newport, R.I.: John Stevens, 1937. Ward Printing Co. Newport, R.I.

9. Bethune, Ade de. **WORK.** Newport, R.I.: John Stevens, 1938, printed by Ward Printing Co. Newport, R.I.

10. Mona Lisa Tee Shirt from the Rhode Island School of Design Book Store with the calligraphic symbol RISD designed by John Howard Benson.

11. Benson, John Howard and Arthur Graham Cary. **The Wheel of Artifice.** Newport, R.I.: John Stevens, 1952 reprint of **The Catholic Art Quarterly**, vol 15, no. 2 and 3, pp. 5-27.

12. Beston, Henry. **Herbs and the Earth.** woodcuts by John Howard Benson. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. 1935.

13. LaJoie, Raymond A. "Records History in Stone". **RISD Alumni Bulletin.** reprint from **ART IN STONE** (1954) p. 14.

14. "The New School seal by John Howard Benson". **RISD Alumni Bulletin.** (Summer Issue, vol 8, June 1951, No. 2) cover and pp. 2-4. p. 3.

15. **Calligraphy and Handwriting in America, 1710-1962,** compiled by P.W. Filby Asst. Director Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Md. Composed by Stinehour Press, Printed by Meriden Gravure Co. 1963. illustrations 113 Book plate of Redwood Library and 116 The Grace Rainey Rogers Auditorium (at Metropolitan Museum of Art designed by John Howard Benson in 1954)

16. Arrighi, Ludovico degli. **The First Writing Book.** Translator, John Howard Benson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954 Printed by The Vail-Ballou Press Inc. Binghamton, N.Y.

17. **John Howard Benson** (1901-1956) bronze head by Gilbert Franklin.

18. Phragmities Communis, plant used for Benson's pens.

19. Loeffler, Elaine P. and Hugh J. Gourley III. **Dynamic Symmetry.** Providence: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, printed in Garamond Light by John F. Greene Co., 1961.

20. Presidential Seal, Rhode Island School of Design, designed by John Howard Benson in 1951.

TEXTYPE

Contemporary Fine Printing
in
The Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays

The John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library
September - October 1993

Case 1: **Johanna Drucker.** Against fiction. Oakland, Calif.: Druckwerk, 1983.

Vitrine 1: **a. Steven J. Bernstein.** The onion as it is cooked. New York: Flockophobic Press Ltd., 1990.
b. Steven J. Bernstein. Strip poker. New York: Flockophobic Press, 1991.

Case 2: **a. Arlyn Simon.** Window. [Providence: author, 1989?]
b. Johanna Drucker. The word made flesh. [New York:] Johanna Drucker, 1989.
c. Kenneth Patchen. An astonished eye looks out of the air. Waldport, Oregon: Untide Press, [1945]

Case 3: **a. Edwin Abbott Abbott.** Flatland: A romance of many dimensions. Illustrations by Andrew Hoyem. Introduction by Ray Bradbury. San Francisco: The Arion Press, 1980.
Starred Books Collection
b. Michael Bartalos. Double helix. New York: Purgatory Pie Press, 1984.

Case 4: **a. Walter Hamady.** Hunkering in Wisconsin, another Interminable Gaggerblabb (a series). Illustrated by Jack Beal. [Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin: The Perishable Press Limited, 1974]
b. Walter Hamady. Interminable gabberjabbs [by] Voltaire the Haemadeh. [Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin:] The Perishable Press Limited, [1973]
c. Walter Hamady. Thumbnailing the hilex. Another (3) interminable gabberjabbs (ae seriesz). [Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin: The Perishable Press Lmtd, 1974]

Case 5: **a. Walter Hamady.** The interminable gabberjabb volume one (&) number four. Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin: The Perishable Press Limited, 1975.
b. Walter Hamady. For the hundredth time Gabboerjabb number (5) Confluence [Mount Horeb] Wisconsin: The Perishable Press Limited, 1981.

c. Walter Hamady. Neopostmodernism, or, Dieser Rasen is kein Hundeklo, or, Gub²rzub² number (6), or, The incognita of Rita's deep time coexisting within central discoveries of the thermodynamic dichotomy of western thought: observed impregnant meanings & transhistorical justifications. By (LC) PS3558A42 or, W S) Ebscrmshsftkh (Hamady. [Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin:] The Perishable Press Limited, 1988.
d. Allen Ginsberg. Kaddish: for Naomi Ginsberg, 1894-1956. With two other related poems, White shroud and Black shroud. San Francisco: The Arion Press, 1992.
e. Ruth Laxson. Where is everybody? Atlanta: Press 63, 1990.

Vitrine 2: **Elizabeth McDevitt.** Octopus. Illustrated by Julie Chen. Berkeley: Flying Fish Press, 1992.

Case 6: **a. Carlos Oquendo de Amat.** Five meters of poems. Translated and with an introduction by David M. Guss. Isla Vista, Calif.: Turkey Press, 1986.
b. Michael McClure and **Wesley B. Tanner.** The book of Benjamin. Berkeley: The Arif Press, 1982.

Case 7: **Nicole Christine Juen.** Abacus haiku. A documentation of the concrete relationships between The Abacus and Haiku. [Providence:] Rhode Island School of Design, 1989.

History of Science Collection

Case 8: **a. Sandra McPherson.** Eve: poem by Sandra McPherson; hanging construction by Susan Johanknecht. Vermont: Janus Press; London: Gefn Press, 1987.
b. Katharine Meynell. Eat book. Images by Katharine Meynell and Susan Johanknecht. London: Gefn Press; Vermont: Janus Press, 1990.

Case 9: **a. Credo Enriquez.** If you fall asleep. [S.l.] Emanon Press, 1977.
b. M[arilyn]. R. Rosenberg. Coming around: another axis cycle. [Peekskill, New York: Marilyn Rosenberg] 1985.
c. Jeffrey W. Morin. For the moment. Madison, Wisconsin: Sailor Boy Press, 1983.
d. Jerome Rothenberg. A merz sonata. A book by Debra Weier. [Easthampton, Mass.] Emanon Press; Rosendale, New York: Women's Studio Workshop, 1985.

Case 10: **Walt Whitman.** Out of the cradle endlessly rocking. Torrance, Calif.: Labryinth Editions, 1978.

Case 11: **a. Peter Schumann.** Bread and puppet: St. Francis preaches to the birds. Newark, Vermont: The Janus Press, 1978.
b. Johanna Drucker. Through light and the alphabet. Berkeley, Calif.: Druckwerk, 1986.

Case 12: **a. Johanna Drucker.** From A to Z: our an (collective specifics) an im partial bibliography: Incidents in a non-relationship, or, how I came to not know who is: The politics of language. [Berkeley, Calif.] Chased Press, 1977.
b. Johanna Drucker. Twenty-six '76 let her's: Not a matter of permission. [Berkeley:] Chased Press, [1976]
c. Abigail Child Flesh. Amsterdam and New York: ZET, 1990.
d. Lager lieder. Designed by Walter Feldman. Providence: Ziggurat Press, [1990]

Case 13: **Allan Kaprow.** Calling, a happening. [New York: Something Else Press, 1967]

Case 14: **a. Ruth Laxson.** Wheeling. Atlanta: Press 63, 1992.
b. Ruth Laxson. Measure · cut · stitch. Atlanta: Press 63, 1987.
c. Ruth Laxson. Little tyrannies.Atlanta: Press 63, 1990.
d. The dream of the dirty woman. A play in one act based on a dream of Elka Schumann. Newark, Vermont: The Janus Press, 1980.

Case 15: **a. John Ashbery.** Self-portrait in a convex mirror. The poem with original prints by Richard Avedon, Elaine de Kooning, Willem de Kooning, Jim Dine, Jane Freilicher, Alex Katz, R.B. Kitaj, Larry Rivers. San Francisco: The Arion Press, 1984.
b. Irvin Soll. Tryangulations. [Madison, Wisconsin:] Tiramisu Press, 1991.

Case 16: **a. Margaret Kaufman.** Aunt Sallie's lament. West Burke, Vermont: Janus Press, 1988.
b. Hannah Taylor. Someone, somewhere; Souverain et souterrain. [Rosendale, New York:] WSW (Women's StudioWorkshop), 1986.
c. Sara Rosenbaum. Quiet words. Providence: Ziggurat Press, [1992]

Vitrine 3: **Angela Lorenz.** Pandora's book Bologna: Angela Lorenz, 1992.

Case 17: **Harry Reese.** Arplines. A portfolio of lines. [Isla Vista, Calif.: Turkey Press, 1990]

THE WORLD CONSTRUCTED

PART II:
MAPPING THE LAND

An Exhibition of Maps
Prepared by Susan Danforth

January, 1994 - May, 1994

The John Carter Brown Libary
Providence, Rhode Island

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The John Carter Brown Library

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently funded and administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to ca. 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, facsimiles, and other works that interpret the Library's holdings.

For further information about the Library and its various programs, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, R. I. 02912.

MAPPING THE LAND

Contents

I. The European Tradition

II. The American Tradition

III. Maps as Commentary: To Educate and Entertain

IV. Processing Geographical Information

V. Maps to Encourage Settlement

VI. Melilot: From Ancient Greece to America

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THE EUROPEAN TRADITION

1. Miantonomo. [ORIGINAL DEED TO WARWICK, RHODE ISLAND.] ye twelth Day of January 1642. Manuscript.

Maps as graphic representations of spatial relationships and topographic detail are relatively recent in origin. In fact, there was no word in any European language that meant map (as we use the term) until the Renaissance. "Mapa" meant cloth and "carte" or "carta" meant a piece of paper or a letter--in other words, the surface upon which a graphic representation of the earth could be drawn or painted. Before the Renaissance it was primarily artists who depicted geography, drawing or painting landscape in plan with no apparent attention to scale relationships. On the other hand, medieval surveyors usually described property and boundaries by verbal description alone. This deed to Warwick, territory that was conveyed to the English colonists by the Narragansett Indian sachem Miantonomo, is an example of the longstanding tradition of written geographical description that continues to this day in the recording of real estate titles.

2. *[German towns of the Holy Roman Empire.]* In: Hartmann Schedel. DAS BUCH DER CHRONIKEN UNND GESCHICHTEN. Nuremburg, 1493.

In addition to written surveys and painted plans there was also a strong European artistic tradition that recorded elements of landscape with ground-level views and oblique views drawn from a position (or positions) above. Cities and important places were the usual subjects, although this tradition did not place undue emphasis on the accuracy of the rendering. The woodcut shown here is an entire landscape of so-called bird's-eye views of towns that the artist has joined together with rivers and streams to form a "map-like" representation of the German portion of the Holy Roman Empire. There is no scale or single perspective; the location of the towns in the picture has nothing to do with real geographic relationships; and the images of the towns themselves are fanciful. It does, however, make a recognizable "cartographic" statement.

3. *[Spain.]* In: Claudius Ptolemy. COSMOGRAPHIA. Bologna, 1477.

4. *Septima Asia Tabula.* In: Claudius Ptolemy. COSMOGRAPHIA. Rome, 1478.

Geographical works by the Alexandrian astronomer Claudius Ptolemy (fl. 2d. cent.) had been translated into Latin and began to circulate in European learned circles by the beginning of the fifteenth century. A printed edition of Ptolemy was issued in 1477, not long after Gutenberg's Bibles, reaching out to a Renaissance audience that had begun to develop a taste for theoretical and practical geography. Whether Ptolemy's original work actually

contained maps--or just the directions to make them--is an open question, for the maps that accompanied his text by the Renaissance could have been drawn and added at any time. However, in his writings Ptolemy did make a distinction between "geographic" regional maps, where features were shown simply by lines and dots (no. 3), and "chorographic" maps, which were large-scale maps of smaller areas that made some use of pictorial elements to show topography and other features (no. 4). But, most importantly, Ptolemy's "new" way of looking at the world was based upon the representation of landscape by a drawing to uniform scale; this was the major factor that was to shape the development of Western mapping.

5. Luis Antonio Menchaca. MAPA DEL PRESIDIO DE SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR. 1764. Manuscript.

From the fifteenth through the eighteenth century European mapmakers routinely combined these two traditions--maps drawn to uniform scale and views drawn to the rules of perspective. This practice gave their maps a pictorial quality, and lasted until the rise of a "scientific" cartography that considered decoration extraneous. Menchaca's map of San Antonio, Texas, and its environs is drawn to scale, describes topographical features (trees and hills), and pictures settlements with plans and birds-eye views.

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

Little has survived that reveals the cartographic practices of the indigenous peoples of North and South America prior to the arrival of Europeans. We do not know what was destroyed of Aztec material culture by the Spaniards during the conquest and it is likely that the mediums upon which maps and other pictures were routinely depicted (cloth, bark, etc.) was both fragile and impermanent. In addition, it is probable that many maps were never meant to be more than temporary, such as route directions sketched on sand or dirt.

In their accounts, Europeans sometimes described maps made by Amerindians, but for North America at least, nothing remains that was produced earlier than the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and this late date raises questions about how much is genuinely in the Native American tradition and how much is due to European influence. No traces remain of a South American tradition and only a very few pre-Columbian Aztec maps escaped destruction. None of those is here at the John Carter Brown Library, but we do have some pieces that reflect characteristics of Mesoamerican peoples' approach to geographic description.

6. *Modo como metieron el agua del manantial.* In: Juan de Tovar. HISTORIA DE LA BENIDA DE LOS YNDIOS. Mexico, 1585. Manuscript.

Tovar's *Historia* contains detailed information about the rites and ceremonies of the Aztecs and is accompanied by fifty-one watercolors that illustrate the native religion before the coming of the Spaniards. The paintings were possibly done by an Indian artist who was drawing on direct recollection of destroyed works. One of the illustrations concerns the actions of the leader, Auitzotl, who, during a time of drought in the valley of Mexico, decreed that the river Acuecuexco be diverted to the capital city of Tenochtitlàn. A canal was built for the purpose and this picture depicts the opening ceremony. The blue, tree-like design in the lower half of the picture shows the course of the diverted river and is typical of Aztec representations of running water. The cactus on the right represents Tenochtitlàn.

7. COYOACAN CODEX. [Mexico, c. 1700 - before 1743]. Manuscript.

Pictorial manuscripts using indigenous techniques were still being made two hundred years after the conquest. Some, such as the codex shown here, were prepared as forgeries of original property titles. By using native amatl paper derived from tree bark, and by combining watercolor paintings with glosses written in Nahuatl, the forgers attempted to imitate sixteenth-century documentation of landholdings. This is a land claim prepared by residents of Maztapec, an Indian village whose boundaries were being challenged by the authorities. The rectangles on the left

represent the villagers' fields (*milpas*), while the trees on the right probably represent a boundary marker.

8. [RIO PANUCO.] Mexico, 1771. Manuscript.

Even at the end of the eighteenth century, this map of the path of the Rio Panuco in the Province of Sinaloa, Mexico, retains many pictorial elements that appear to be of Aztec origin. Although the flowing water symbol is no longer present, the snail-like mountains point to an earlier tradition. Roads, or paths, are represented by parallel broken lines that are not a part of the European design legacy. The Aztec symbol for a road was a trail of footprints, and after the conquest these footprints were often replaced by hoofprints. It is likely that the hoofprint symbol was further generalized into the parallel dotted lines shown on this map.

MAPS AS COMMENTARY: TO EDUCATE AND ENTERTAIN

9. *[World map.]* In: Joseph Hall. MUNDUS ALTER. Frankfurt, 1605.

Mapmakers, of course, are not restricted to the geography of the real world or the present moment. Maps have often been drawn to illustrate a literary or a fictitious landscape and to describe religious, social, and scientific theory. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was a prolific theological commentator, sometimes writing under

the pseudonym *Mercurio Britannico*. He chose to illustrate this satire with a map of the world to which has been added a large southern continent divided into imaginary kingdoms.

10. Benito Arias Montanus. *Sacrae geographiae tabulam ex antiquissimorum*. In: BIBLIA SACRA, HEBRAICE, CHALDAICE, GRAECE & LATINE. Antwerp, 1572.

11. Guillaume Sanson. ATLANTIS INSULA. Paris, 1690.

Christian doctrine decreed that all the earth's peoples were descended from Adam and Eve; therefore, it followed that the New World must have been known to the Ancients, and that the recent western "discoveries" were really part of a process of re-acquaintance. The world map of Arias Montanus solves the problem of the origin of New World peoples by making them the descendents of the Old Testament personnage, Joktan, whose son, Ophir, settled in California and Peru (no. 19 on the map). Joktan's grandsons, Jobab (no. 21) and Sephermons (no. 22) settled in South America. Guillaume Sanson, on the other hand, chose to identify North and South America with the Greek legend of Atlantis.

12. *Presbiteri Iohannis, sive, Abissinorum Imperii descriptio*. In: Abraham Ortelius. THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM. Antwerp, 1574.

In the twelfth century, Western Christendom received word of Prester John, a Christian leader who supposedly resided somewhere to the east. As commander of a large army, and temporal and spiritual leader of a major Christian community, Europeans saw in him a potential military ally for recovering the Holy Land from Islamic domination. The search for Prester John
began immediately. Marco Polo claimed to have found him in central Asia, others in an unspecified land beyond Egypt and, in the fifteenth century, Portuguese missionaries reported encountering him in Ethiopia. From the mid-fifteenth century on, Europeans considered Prester John to be the Emperor of Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

13. Robert Sayer. A GENERAL MAP OF AMERICA. London [ca. 1772.] Puzzle.

14. G. Pocock. [TERRESTRIAL GLOBE.] London, [ca. 1835.] Accompanied by: A FEW REMARKS AS AN ACCOMPANIMENT TO MR. POCOCK'S PATENT GLOBES. [Bristol, ca.1835.]

15. Andy Thompson. A COMPENDIUM OF GEOGRAPHY. 1821. Manuscript.

Until recently, a knowledge of world geography was considered a necessary component of a gentleman's education, and instructive puzzles and games were very much a part of the process. Andy Thompson was probably

a student who was assigned this essay to demonstrate his comprehensive understanding of the subject.

16. THIS PLAN OF THE ISLAND OF MONTSERRAT ... IS NOT TO BE RELIED UPON. [ca. 1832.] Manuscript.

The purpose of a map is not always clear. Is the map shown here educational? Is it trying to provide general information about the lay of the land to an interested outsider? The title of the map carries such a disclaimer that it is difficult to determine why it was made. For a map of Montserrat with another point of view, see item no. 39.

PROCESSING GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

17. *[Newfoundland and the surrounding area.]* From: ["THE BLATHWAYT ATLAS." London, ca. 1683.]

The information that shapes a map can be drawn from a variety of sources--first-hand experience of a place, "authoritative" information received second-hand, rumor, legend, and tradition, to name but a few. The cartographer's job consists of juggling and distilling disparate reports into a coherent geographic presentation. This map is derived from the direct experience of Englishmen who seasonally fished the Grand Banks, drying and salting their catch on the Newfoundland shore before loading it onto ships for the

voyage home. The eastern coast of the island is drawn on a larger scale and with more detail than the west because it was the chief focus of English fishing interests. The fishermen erected seasonal camps on the coast and were not particularly curious about the land that lay behind them.

18. *Virginia.* In: John Smith. THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA, NEW=ENGLAND, AND THE SUMMER ISLES. London, 1631.

During the period of early European settlement, most knowledge of the interior was obtained from Native Americans. Many misconceptions about the geographical nature of the North American continent on old maps were often the result of imperfect communication between the two groups or, sometimes, of calculated "misinformation" on the part of native Americans. Very little information on this map of the Chesapeake Bay is based upon personal observation by English explorers. As explained by the key to the symbols at the upper right, the limit of the colonists' first-hand knowledge is indicated by a cross. The remainder is derived primarily from interviews with Indians who lived in the area. Recent archaeological excavations have confirmed much of Smith's cartography.

19. Frederick de Wit. NOVISSIMA ET ACCURATISSIMA SEPTENTRIONALIS AC MERIDIONALIS AMERICAE. Amsterdam, [ca. 1688.]

The erroneous delineation of an insular California is probably due to Father Antonio Ascension's misunderstanding of the reports of the Spanish navigators Juan de Fuca (1592) and Martin d'Aguilar (1602), which seemed to suggest the possibility of an opening in the west coast and an inland sea to the north. In 1620, Father Ascension drew a map that illustrated his concept of California as an island and dispatched it to Spain, but the ship was captured by the Dutch and taken to Amsterdam. By 1622 maps were being published in Amsterdam showing the island of California, and this idea lodged in the European imagination for more than a century. Even though Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino's explorations in 1698 proved that California was a peninsula, it was not until Father Consag sailed completely around the Gulf of California that Ferdinand VI of Spain acted to correct the record with a royal decree in 1747 stating that California was not an island.

20. *Carte génerale des decouvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte.* In: Guillaume Delisle. NOUVELLES CARTES. Paris, 1753.

The "Bartolomé Font" northwest coast geography was a hoax, but no one has yet come up with an answer as to who perpetrated it or why. It began in 1744 when a letter was published in English that claimed to be a translation of an official Spanish report by one Admiral Bartolomé Font. In it Font claimed claimed that he had made a voyage from

Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean by way of a convenient cross-continental passage. Along the way, he had even encountered a Boston fur trading ship owned by a man named Shapley. Nobody was ever able to locate or corroborate the original Spanish report, but the story inspired an intense, though short-lived, flurry of cartographic speculation.

MAPS TO ENCOURAGE SETTLEMENT

21. *New England.* In: John Smith. THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA, NEW=ENGLAND, AND THE SUMMER ISLES. London, 1631.

In 1614 the Plymouth Company sent John Smith on a reconnaissance voyage along the coast of what was then called northern Virginia. One of his directives was to scout sites for future plantations. Based upon his explorations Smith drew the map shown here, which was first published in 1616. In order to "domesticate" the land and make it more appealing to potential investors and settlers, Smith replaced the native placenames with English ones. Plymouth existed only on paper until the arrival of the Pilgrims in 1620 turned the idea into reality. Only three of Smith's names remain in the same place on the landscape today: Plymouth and Cape Ann in Massachusetts and Cape Elizabeth in Maine.

In fact, Smith took as much liberty with his own appearance as he did with native placenames. As this popular map was reissued over the years, Smith's image altered as well--he developed a fine head of hair, sported a more luxurious beard, and showed himself off in fancier clothes. The state of the plate shown here, the seventh, presents Smith in full glory.

22. *Novae Terrae.* In: A RELATION OF MARYLAND. [London,] 1635.

The first group of about 150 settlers--gentlemen adventurers, Jesuit priests, and ordinary people to work the land--had sailed to Lord Baltimore's Maryland in 1632. Although the colony seemed to be off to a good start, the proprietor realized that regular infusions of money, settlers, and supplies would be required to keep his investment viable. As soon as he received word by return ship that the colonists had arrived safely in Maryland and had begun to establish themselves, Baltimore set to work to keep up the momentum by publishing a second promotional tract. This contained the first printed map of Maryland so that people could visualize the advantages of the new settlement.

23. *Map of the State of Kentucky.* and *Plan of Franklinville.* In: William Winterbotham. AN HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES. London, 1794. Vol. 4.

24. FORM OF ARTICLES TO BE SIGNED BY THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE TOWNSHIP OF FRANKLIN. With: *A map of part of the State of Kentucky. and A plan of the township of Franklin.* [New York? 1794?]

A group of speculators, probably English, promoted land sales in central Kentucky for the proposed towns of Lystra, Franklinville, and Ohiopiomingo. The chief publicist for the venture was William Winterbotham, author of an ambitious four-volume general history of North America. Winterbotham's description of the United States may have been accurate, but his primary interest emerged in his description of Kentucky, which bordered on the lyrical (and the only town plans in this work were those of his proposed Kentucky settlements). Winterbotham's prose may have brought these Kentucky towns alive for his readers, but Lystra, Franklinville, and Ohiopiomingo never existed, except on paper.

MAPS TO ENCOURAGE SETTLEMENT
MELILOT : FROM ANCIENT GREECE TO AMERICA

25. *Tempe.* In: Abraham Ortelius. THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM. Antwerp, 1592.

The Vale of Tempe was the ancient name of a narrow valley that, according to Greek legend, was created by the trident of Posiedon. The drama of the chasm was softened by a winding river, lush vegetation, and quiet glades, and Tempe eventually became synonymous with natural beauty. The sixteenth century was witness to a wide-spread reawakening of interest in classical geography and Abraham Ortelius included this fantasy view of Tempe in his collection of maps of the ancient world.

26. *Paysage de la Province de Bemarin au Royaume d'Apalache*. In: Charles de Rochefort. HISTOIRE NATURELLE ET MORALE DES ILES ANTILLES DE L'AMERIQUE. Rotterdam, 1681.

Rochefort was a Huguenot who actively encouraged French Protestants to settle in America. According to him a city named Melilot in the kingdom of Apalache was home to a mysterious band of European Protestants who had been driven from the Virginia colony. In this New World Eden they freely practiced their religion and lived in harmony with their Indian neighbors. Since Melilot did not exist outside Rochefort's imagination, the artist of the image shown here may have received inspiration from Ortelius's rendering of Tempe.

27. Jean Baptiste Nolin. L'AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE. Paris, 1704.

Shortly after Rochefort's publication, Melilot and Apalache began to appear with regularity on European maps of North America, located primarily in the southeast. On this map the names appear to the west of "Carolina."

MAPS TO RECORD POSSESSIONS AND BOUNDARIES

28. [Bradock Mead.] CHART OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH, & SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA, AND THE WEST INDIES. London, [ca. 1763].

European conflicts over New World possessions produced many ownership maps of the kind shown here. Throughout the eighteenth century, French and English cartographers fought a war for North America that reflected the current political situation. Bradock Mead was one of the more colorful and outspoken of the English cartographers, and he typically made use of marginal notes to add emphasis to his geographical and political views.

29. [NEW ENGLAND, SHOWING MASSACHUSETTS BOUNDARIES. 1678.] Manuscript.

In the original charter the Charles River in the South and the Merrimack River in the north formed the boundaries of the Massachusetts Bay Company because it was assumed

that the course of both rivers was generally due west-to-east. After further exploration, the Massachusetts settlers realized that the source of the Merrimack River was much farther to the north, and that the river flowed south for fifty miles before turning eastward toward the sea. Since their charter entitled them to all lands as far as three miles north of any part of the river's course it seemed that the colony could legally increase its territory by a considerable amount. This map was drawn to present the Massachusetts Bay Colony's position to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London. They did not win their case.

30. *[Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and part of Virginia.]* In: ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT. Philadelphia, 1733.

The dispute between the Penns and the Calverts over the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania began in 1680 and continued through eighty-three years of border raids, burnings, imprisonments, and litigation. The *Articles of Agreement*, a compact between the two sides for running a boundary, was initially accepted in 1733. It was then published in Philadelphia illustrated by a woodcut map of the contested territory that may have been cut by Benjamin Franklin. In 1735, however, Calvert refused to implement the plan because he realized that he had given away too much through his ignorance of geography. The boundary issue was finally solved in 1763 with the running of the Mason-

Dixon line, a boundary that has come to represent the line of separation between the cultures of North and South.

31. *No. 30. 2,500 Acres, on Reedy Creek.* In: DRAUGHTS OF VIRGINIA LANDS THE PROPERTY OF DOCTOR BENJAMIN SAY. and PLAN OF LOTS IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA THE PROPERTY OF DR. BENJAMIN SAY. [ca. 1790-1826]. Manuscript.

The Say family recorded their extensive land holdings in Kentucky, Virginia, western Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia conveniently in this handbook. The dated entries coincide with the surge of land speculation at the close of the Revolutionary War that went hand-in-hand with the United States' western expansion to the Mississippi River.

MAPS TO WAGE WAR

32. ELEAZER CAREY'S POWDER HORN DATE CROWN POINT OCTR. 31, 1759.

The powder horn was an essential piece of equipment for the eighteenth-century soldier, and he often whiled away his spare time decorating it with designs incised with a knife point or other sharp object. A large number of the surviving examples of early American powder horns are embellished with maps--usually rather impressionistic--highlighting places where the owners had seen service. Eleazer Carey's horn shows the towns of Amboy, New York, Albany, and "Skanaktady," as well as several forts in the Hudson valley as far north as Crown Point on Lake Champlain. For good measure, he added a mermaid and a pheasant.

33. THE AMERICAN MILITARY POCKET ATLAS. London, [1776.]

Separate maps of the theatre of the American Revolution in North America that provided essential topographic information were gathered together and re-published in this format by Robert Sayer. It is popularly called the "holster atlas" because it was designed to fit into the gun holster that was attached to an officer's saddle or a belt.

34. Ludwig, Baron von Closen. [PLAN OF THE ISLAND OF RHODE ISLAND UNDER FRENCH OCCUPATION] [ca. 1780.] Manuscript.

The British occupation of Rhode Island lasted from December, 1776, to October, 1779, and for Rhode Islanders, at least, the much-welcomed French Alliance of 1778 had proved disappointing. A French and American attempt to rout the British from Newport in 1778 was a fiasco, but the arrival of Rochambeau's forces in July 1780 began a new, positive phase in Franco-American cooperation. This manuscript map records wartime strategic planning and fortification. Drawn by a German officer attached to Rochambeau's forces, it provides a topographic study of the island's natural and man-made features and describes the re-fortification of the entrance to Newport Harbor after its abandonment by British troops. Each ship of the French fleet is named and the shore batteries on Rose Island and Brenton's Point are shown with their respective fields of fire, crossfire, and concentration.

35. [Samuel Augspourguer.] THE FORT AT FREDERICA IN GEORGIA. 1736. Manuscript.

36. A PLAN OF FREDERIKA A TOWN IN THE PLANTATION OF GEORGIA IN THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA AS LAYD OUT BY MR. OGLETHORPE. 1736.

Ever since the settlement of the Carolinas in the seventeenth century, England and Spain had contested ownership of the land between Charleston, South Carolina, and St. Augustine, Florida. In 1736 the frontier post of Frederica, Georgia, was established on a bluff overlooking the South Branch of the Altamaha River to protect the English colonies from Spanish attack. The design of Frederica, with its regular grid, city walls, and central strong point, may owe its origin in part to Oglethorpe's knowledge of the fortified towns of northern Ireland. For further protection, Samuel Augspourguer, a Swiss surveyor and engineer, laid out a fort. Frederica was attacked unsuccessfully by the Spaniards in 1742, but the treaty of peace with Spain in 1748 heralded the beginning of its decline. By 1755 all the forts that had been established along the Georgia borders were in ruins, and a fire in 1758 destroyed what was left of Frederica.

37. *A plan of the city of Albany.* In: [Mary Ann Rocque.] A SET OF PLANS OF FORTS IN AMERICA. [London,] 1763.

This illustrated book of fortifications was intended as a handy reference tool for the armchair military strategist, where an observer of the French and Indian War in North America could get a visual "fix" on places and events in the news.

MAPS TO DESCRIBE LAND USE AND SETTLEMENT

38. [ESTATE PLAN OF 300 ACRES OF LAND NEAR HOLETOWN, BARBADOS.] Surveyed by John Hapcott, October 10, 1646.

This plan shows the layout of a Barbados estate at the time when sugar production was being established and the island was beginning its phenomenal rise as the most valuable of England's American colonies. The original heavy forest cover of the island presented a formidable problem for early settlers, who often started their crops between the stumps of trees that had been cut and partially burned. As sugar cane became profitable in the 1640s the destruction of the forests proceeded more rapidly, and by 1665 firewood had to be imported from as far away as New England. "Fallen land," at the upper left, signifies areas that have been cleared for agriculture. Potatoes were important in the early colonial life of the island, used for making bread and for an alcoholic drink called mobbie. Note the "potato peece" at the lower left.

39. *Mountserrat Island 1673*. In: THE BLATHWAYT ATLAS. [ca. 1683.] Manuscript.

Identifying landfalls and harbor entrances with "profiles" of the land as it would appear from offshore was a longstanding maritime tradition that continues almost

unchanged to this day. This unusual map of the Caribbean island of Montserrat--a series of coastal profiles strung together--was probably executed by a mariner. The land is drawn in minute detail and there is an extensive key to buildings and places. No separate map of the island was published in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. The manuscript map shown here is a valuable window into the past that has been used by modern scholars to analyze seventeenth-century land-use patterns. For another map of Montserrat, see no. 16.

40. *Habitasion de l'ile Ste. Croix.* In: Samuel de Champlain. LES VOYAGES. Paris, 1613.

In 1604 Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, received exclusive Canadian fur trading rights from the French king, Henri IV. He organized an expedition to reconnoitre the area and to establish trading centers, the first of which was Sainte Croix (Douchet Island) on the Maine coast. Samuel de Champlain, geographer for the voyage, laid out the settlement with its residences, gardens, a mill, and an oven. During the winter, however, the exposed site proved so inhospitable that it was abandoned the following spring, and it is unlikely that the actual settlement bore much resemblance to Champlain's neat perspective plan.

41. Thomas Holme. A PORTRAITURE OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. London, [1682.]

42. DIRECTIONS OF REFERENCE IN THE CITY DRAUGHT OF PHILADELPHIA. [ca. 1682.] Manuscript.

In March, 1681, William Penn received a charter from Charles II naming him governor and proprietor of Pennsylvania. Four months later, Penn had produced a general colonization scheme that included plans for the establishment of a great city to be called Philadelphia. By the summer of 1682, a site had been selected and the newly appointed surveyor, Thomas Holme, was preparing to lay out the new town. The grid pattern, which was to become synonymous with the idea of North American urban living, had a long history of use by Spanish, French, and English colonial town planners. However, the incorporation of open green spaces, sites for public buildings, and residential squares were probably based upon Richard Newcourt's plan for reconstructing London after the great fire of 1666.

MAPS TO SHOW THE WAY

43. Julio Ramon de Cèsar. MAPA SACADO CON LA OCASION DE LA ENTRADA QUE HIZO A SU COSTA A LOS FERTILES Y DILATADOS PAISES DEL GRAN CHACO GUALAMBA, EL GOVERNOR DE LA PROVA. DEL TUCUMAN DN. GERONIMO MATORRAS. 1774. Manuscript.

This map provides a record of the expedition of Geronimo Matorras, Governor of Tucumán, into the interior Indian country of Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia. The drawing memorializes the governor's meeting with "El famoso Indio Paykin." "Z" marks the main route from Buenos Aires to Peru (Potosi is at the very top of the map).

44. Christopher Gist. THE DRAUGHT OF GENL. BRADDOCKS ROUTE TOWARDS FORT DU QUESNE ... 15th of Sept. 1755. Manuscript.

Christopher Gist has been described as the first European to explore carefully the Ohio River valley and northeastern Kentucky and, as a guide, he accompanied General Braddock's army of regulars and volunteers, including a young George Washington, on its ill-fated expedition to attack the French at Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). The English troops were surprised and routed by the bush fighting tactics of the French and their Indian allies. In the words of Benjamin Franklin, [Braddock] "had too high an idea of the validity of European troops, and too low a one of Americans and Indians."

Although it was unintentional, Gist's sketch of Braddock's route to Pittsburgh was the first separate map to be acquired by the Library; it came folded into a copy of Thomas Mante's HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN AMERICA. London, 1772, which was bought by John Carter Brown in 1846.

45. William Alsops. A MAP OF ALL FRIENDS MEETINGS BELONGING TO THE YEARLY MEETING OF RHODE ISLAND. 1782. Manuscript.

Maps such as this one were prepared for itinerant Quaker ministers to consult for the location of various meetings and the distances between them. Originally this map was backed with heavy linen so that it could be conveniently folded for travel in much the same way as the "holster atlas" (No. 33).

46. Christopher Colles. A SURVEY OF THE ROADS OF THE UNITED STATES. [New York,]1789.

Colles's Survey consists of eighty-three strip maps of roads covering the area from Albany to Annapolis. Each section covers twelve miles of road at a scale of one inch to four sevenths of a mile. Precise notation of distance was made possible by Colles's use of a perambulator that measured mileage by the revolutions of a wheel attached to the back of a carriage.

TRANSITIONS: EUROPEANS AND AMERINDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA

It has often been said that European governments and settlers chose to ignore or, perhaps, remain unaware of, the extent and density of the indigenous population in North

America during the colonial period. This view is not, however, borne out by the cartographic record. The maps in the following series have been chosen because they are typical of their times. They are also dense with information and provide numerous possibilities for interpretation beyond the notes provided.

47. Paolo Forlani. UN DISEGNO, OUERO UNA PARTICOLAR DESCRITTIONE DI TUTTE LE NAVIGATIONI DEL MONDO NUOVO. Venice, 1574.

This late sixteenth-century map records early, tentative explorations along the eastern coast of North America. It is apparent that at this stage Europeans were primarily interested in the rivers, a reflection of the explorers' determination to find a passage through the continent to the Pacific Ocean. Some Amerindian placenames are scattered along the coast, but the map demonstrates little awareness of native peoples, a situation that began to change with the development of European trade and settlement in the seventeenth century.

48. Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville. AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE. Paris, 1650.

Seventy-five years later, the North American map is populated with Indian tribes and placenames. Information about the southeast, southwest, and Mexico is based upon earlier Spanish chronicles, while northeastern Canada has been filled out by more recent French exploration. The map

gives the impression that by 1650 there was no longer a significant native American population in the English colonies, although this might be due to lack of space for such detail on a map of this scale. In 1677 New England tribes were numerous and strong enough to make a serious--and in some areas a temporarily successful--attempt to dislodge white settlers in a series of uprisings called King Philip's War.

49. Gerard Van Keulen. CARTE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE. Amsterdam, 1718.

This informative map demonstrates how much had been learned in seventy years. Now, throughout the continent, there is a strong sense of a dense Indian presence that seems to surround the English colonies hugging the coast. However, Indians tribes noted within colonial boundaries tend to be located near the borders, as if they are in the process of being inexorably pushed to the west. During this period the English and French were interested in Indian peoples primarily as allies or enemies in their own wars and skirmishes for North American empire.

50. John Huske. A NEW AND ACCURATE MAP OF NORTH AMERICA. London, 1755.

In 1755 John Huske perceived of North America as a conquered country whose territory was in the process of reallocation. Now, natural features often have English or French names rather than Indian ones, a transition that

emphasises the fact that European eyes know the interior at first hand. English settlement marches west of the Appalachians with an eye focused upon lands beyond the Mississippi, blanketing the older Indian territory with new English names.

51. John Cary. AN ACCURATE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. London, 1783.

The United States boundary has moved to the Mississippi, and the Louisiana lands to the west appear sparsely inhabited. Within the boundaries of the new United States the tribes in the northwest and the southwest seem to be an impediment to white settlement. Perhaps the "empty" Louisiana is a subtle suggestion that the ultimate solution may lie in the removal of the Indians to these western lands.

52. William McMurray. THE UNITED STATES. Philadelphia, 1784.

On this American map, published just one year after the previous one, there is no Indian presence within the boundaries of the United States, wishful thinking, no doubt, on the part of land speculators and developers. The former Indian lands in the northwest have been tentatively divided into the new states proposed by President Jefferson.



THE
WORLD
CONSTRUCTED
PART III:
CHARTING THE WATERS

An Exhibition of Maps
Prepared by Susan Danforth

January - May 1995

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Providence, R.I.

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CHARTING THE WATERS

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I. The Expanding Ocean Sea

According to Greek legend, *Oceanus* was the river that encircled the inhabited world. Beginning its course at the setting sun, it passed the columns of Hercules and washed the borders the Elysian Fields and Hades. Monsters and outlandish peoples inhabited its edges, where reality ended and the fabulous began. After about 630 B. C., expeditions outside the Straits of Gibraltar by Greek and Phoenician mariners and explorations of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf by Darius I demonstrated that the legendary *Oceanus* was in reality a salt water "ocean" indented with seas. As the sphericity of the earth began to be recognized in about 350 B. C., geographers conjectured that eastern Asia might be reached by sailing west from Europe, and in 120 B. C. there was an unsuccessful attempt to circumnavigate Africa.

Although the Ancients were unable to prove that a continuous ocean surrounded the habitable world, geographers were challenged to examine its various theoretical parts. Claudius Ptolemy (fl. 2d. cent.) proposed that what we call the Indian Ocean (Mare Indicum) was not part of the larger ocean at all, but was instead a land-locked sea.

a continuous ocean surrounded the habitable world, geographers were challenged to examine its various theoretical parts. Claudius Ptolemy (fl. 2d. cent.) proposed that what we call the Indian Ocean (Mare Indicum) was not part of the larger ocean at all, but was instead a land-locked sea. Others suggested that the southern part of the ocean contained another continent, while it was generally accepted that in its northern reaches it was too frozen, shallow, or "glutinous" for navigation. The western ocean, on the other hand, was supposed to contain many islands, but sailing was hazardous because it was shallow, weed-choked, and infested with sea monsters.

1.

Mappamundi. In: Jacopo Phillipo da Bergamo, [SUPPLEMENTUM CHRONICARUM.] Venice, 1486.

The earth is surrounded by the ocean and its inhabitants on this mappamundi depicting the Christian cosmos. God has created Adam and Eve and the animals of land and air and has placed them in the Garden of Eden at the earth's center.

2.

Magnus Olaus, HISTORIA DE GENTIBUS SEPTENTRIONALIBUS. Rome, 1555.

3.

Hartmann Schedel, DAS BUCH DER CRONIKEN UND GESCHICHTEN. Augsburg, 1499.

These illustrations show some of the monsters and misfits that were thought to inhabit the ocean and its far shores.

4.

[Claudius Ptolemy, *World map*. Rome, ca. 1480; restrike Rome, ca. 1590].

This world map presents the Ptolemaic view of a land-locked Mare Indicum, not considered as part of the encircling Ocean. The Mare Atlanticum (along the northwestern coast of Africa) is a local sea, an indentation of Oceanus Occidentalis. The name, Atlantic, was not derived from the legendary island of Atlantis, but from the Atlas mountains of Africa, which were considered one of the boundaries of the habitable world. Although there are some inconsisten-

cies, this map gives a good idea of how a fifteenth-century cartographer used the terms ocean (oceanus), sea (mare, mer), and bay (sinus).

5.

World map. In: Claudius Ptolemy, GEOGRAPHIA. Venice, 1511.

On this traditionally Ptolemaic world map the cartographer has introduced some uncertainty about the "closed" or "open" nature of the Indian Ocean by the way he has arranged the landmasses on his sheet of paper. Nonetheless, Oceanus Occidentalis remains a western border.

6.

Claudius Ptolemy, *Orbis Typus Universalis*. [Nuremberg, ca. 1507-1513.]

The earth's landmasses seem to float in an ocean without boundaries on this map, which was probably made about 1507. It reflects the first glimpses of an expanded world as it was revealed by the Columbian westward voyages. Here, for the first time, Oceanus Occidentalis sheds its traditional role as a belt of water surrounding the European world.

7.

Willem Blaeu, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis*. Amsterdam, [ca. 1635.]

This map is a cartographic view of the world and its oceans as seen by Europeans in the seventeenth century, when Dutch trading ships were masters of the sea and Dutch publishers were masters of the European map and chart trade. Willem Blaeu's large, but imaginary, southern landmass is a mixture of ancient legend and contemporary geographical theory, cemented with odd bits of information reported by mariners and explorers. In the north, uncertainty about the nature of the frozen land and water makes his depiction of ocean circulation rather vague. In contrast to the previous map, it is plain that new lands in the expanded ocean are an impediment to unrestricted world travel by water.

The Mare Atlanticum creeps north and west, as it has been in the process of doing since the late sixteenth century. What we now call the North Atlantic, however, was most often designated the Northern or Western Ocean until well into the nineteenth century, while the South Atlantic was most often named the Ethiopic Ocean.

8.

Bowles's New One Sheet Chart of the Atlantic or Western Ocean. London,

[ca. 1794.]

By the end of the eighteenth century, sailing routes between Europe and North American ports had created busy roadways across the North Atlantic.

II. Islands, Real and Imagined

Europeans had long been interested in islands, not least for their legendary reputation as sources of wealth. This interest was reflected in the *isolario*, or island-atlas, which developed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as an illustrated guide for travelers. As the known world expanded, newly-discovered islands such as those in the the West Indies comfortably found a place in this established genre.

Cartographers of the Middle Ages had inherited a vague tradition of the existence of islands off the coast of Africa, but information about those Atlantic islands was often confused and interwoven with legend. As the Azores, the Madeiras and the Canaries became better known and settled by Europeans, the legendary islands tended to move west once again to the borders of "civilization." Sorting out the real from the imaginary was problematic for cautious chart publishers who were reluctant to remove dubious landmasses from their maps in case some hazard to navigation might exist after all.

9.

Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, [ISOLARIO.] Venice, 1532.

Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti's description of islands in the Mediterranean, initially published in Venice about 1485, was the first printed *isolario*. The islands are unnamed, but they are described in verse below the woodcuts.

10.

Descrittione della Gran Citta e isola Temistitan. In: Tomaso Porcacci da Castiglione, L'ISOLE. Venice, 1572.

In Porcacci's *isolario*, New World islands join those of the Old World. Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital (now Mexico City), is included because it was an island in the middle of Lake Texcoco.

11.

St. Brendan saying mass on the back of a giant fish. In: Honorius Philoponus, NOVA TYPUS TRANSACTA NAVIGATIO. Linz, 1621.

The historic St. Brendan was born in the fifth century A. D. in southwest Ireland. After his ordination he at-

tracted a group of disciples and began to travel by boat to islands in the North Atlantic, earning the name,"Brendan the Voyager." Over the centuries a literature called the *Narratio* grew up about St. Brendan and his lifetime of travels and, while the text is actually a metaphoric description of the soul's journey to the Promised Land, it was so successful in integrating realism with fantasy that geographers attempted to locate each of the islands it described. Because St. Brendan's earthly paradise was supposed to have a warm and pleasant climate, it was traditionally placed off the coast of Africa. As European colonization of the Canaries, the Madeiras, and the Azores progressed and no Promised Land was revealed, cartographers began to locate the island further west. On the Ortelius map of 1574 (No. 16), the island of St. Brendan is off the coast of Newfoundland—hardly the balmy climate of legend. The illustration shown here depicts Brendan saying mass on the back of a large fish that he and his followers had mistaken for an island.

12.

Johann Ruysch, *Universalior cogniti orbis tabula.* In: Claudius Ptolemy, GEOGRAPHIA. Rome, 1508.

After the fall of the Goths in the eighth century, seven Spanish bishops and their followers fled to an island far out in the Western Ocean that they called Antillia, where they founded seven cities. Stories about the island circulated in the ports and intellectual centers of Europe and many unsuccessful searches were launched. The first known representation of Antillia is on a manuscript nautical chart dated 1424; thereafter it appeared regularly, a large rectangular island always located west of the Azores. The island remained elusive, but the name gradually came to be associated with the Caribbean West Indies as the Greater and Lesser Antilles. It has been suggested that the eighth-century bishops may actually have settled on São Miguel in the Azores—as this real island group became well-known to Europeans the legendary Antillia had to move west into the unknown sea. On this map, the island lies right of center, just to the west of the Azores.

13.

Nicolo Zeno, DEI COMMENTARII DEL VIAGGIO IN PERSIA...ET DELLO SCOPRIMENTO DELL'ISOLE FRISLANDIA, ESLANDA, ENGROUELANDIA, ESTOTILAND, & ICARIA. Venice, 1558.

14.

Nicolo Zeno, FRISLAND. [Venice, ca. 1570.]

A number of claims have been made for pre-Columbian voyages to the Americas. The Venetian brothers Antonio and Niccolò Zeno supposedly sailed westward across the North Atlantic in about 1390 and were shipwrecked on "Frisland" where they claimed to have lived for some years. Eventually they returned to Venice where their documents remained in the family until a descendent published them in 1558. The story has been a subject of controversy from its first appearance, and many historians have dismissed the account as fictitious. However, recent studies have suggested the the Zeno brothers actually did make a voyage, and their Frisland has been identified with the largest of the Färoe Islands. The lands that appear at

the lower left—Icaria, Estotiland, and Drogeo—may well be hints of the Labrador landfalls of several Norse voyages to North America that began in the tenth century. Abraham Ortelius gives their story the benefit of the doubt and includes the Zeno lands on his map of 1574 (No. 16).

15.

[New France.] In: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, NAVIGATIONI ET VIAGGI. Venice, 1556.

It was reported by fishermen and travelers that the Isle of Demons (located at the northern extremity of Newfoundland at the upper right of this map) was inhabited by bloodthirsty animals and evil spirits. Those who passed by the island told of hearing loud cries and the moaning of vicious beasts and tormented souls. In 1541 Jean-François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval, sailed on an expedition to New France accompanied by Marguerite de la Rocque, his niece. During the course of the voyage she became involved with a young officer, conduct that so enraged her uncle that he abandoned her, the young man, and the maid that had acted as go-between, on the Isle of Demons. Two

years later, a passing fishing boat rescued Marguerite, but her maid, her lover, and the child she had borne had all died. Marguerite returned to France and told of protecting herself against demons and monsters by reading the New Testament and fending off wild animals with a gun.

It has been suggested that the Isle of Demons was actually one of the seabird rookeries off the coast of Newfoundland. When nesting, the usually silent birds make the sorts of sounds described by early travelers.

16.

Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio. In: Abraham Otrelius, THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM. Amsterdam, 1574.

Abraham Ortelius, called by Mercator "the Ptolemy of our day," was the first to compile and publish a modern atlas—a systematic collection of maps of all parts of the world presented in a consistent format. As a cartographic editor he brought together the most authoritative maps he could find, and this map of the Americas displays a rapidly expanding knowledge of the New World. Nonetheless he

includes St. Brendan's island (at the lower left), the Isle of Demons, and the long-debated Frisland, Drogeo, & Icaria (at left center). Estotiland has been identified with Labrador.

III. Currents and Winds

The first two centuries of discovery produced much information about winds and currents in the world's oceans, but theories to explain them had hardly changed since Aristotle. Although the sixteenth century had seen important developments in astronomy, anatomy, and botany there was no similar progress in the study of the atmosphere or the ocean. With the growth of colonial empires and maritime trade, seamen were collecting more and more data for the speculation of natural philosophers, and the chief characteristic of the literature in the second half of the seventeenth century was its attempt to deal more directly with the experience of mariners.

17.

Tabula geographico-hydrographica motus oceani. In: Athanasius Kircher, MUNDUS SUBTERRANEUS. Amsterdam, 1678.

In Greek legend, all the rivers of the earth issued from the mythical *Oceanus* through subterranean connections.

The title of this book refers to the Jesuit geographer Athanasius Kircher's hypothesis that a worldwide system of underground canals and reservoirs were connected to above-ground rivers and oceans. Shown here is the earliest printed thematic chart of currents in the open ocean. Although it is a landmark, Kircher's chart shows currents impossibly crossing at several points, and what seems to be a depiction of the Gulf Stream along the North American coast is probably a generalized illustration of his theory of water circulation.

18.

Isaac Vosius, A TREATISE CONCERNING THE MOTION OF THE SEAS AND WINDS. London, 1677.

Vosius's TREATISE was an important departure because he was not simply an "armchair" theorist, but instead based his work on actual observations by mariners: "Nor do I here alleadge any motion of the Seas and Winds, which I could not if it were necessary, confirm by infinite Testimonies and Experiences of Sea men." Here is the first demonstration of an understanding of ocean currents, a

phenomenon known since Columbus made use of them to return from the Indies, but never before explained. In simple words, Vosius correctly stated the basic theory of global water circulation: "That all the Waters of the Ocean turn round in a Circle, and return to the same point from whence they came."

19.

[Benjamin Franklin, COURSE OF THE GULF STREAM.] Paris, [ca. 1778.]

By the eighteenth century the southern part of the Gulf Stream (often called the Florida Current) had long been noted by mariners. Its northern extent, however, seems to have been less well-known. In 1767, when Benjamin Franklin was in London as Deputy Postmaster General, he was asked to investigate the fact that slower merchant vessels sailing from Rhode Island to London arrived two weeks sooner than the faster packet ships that sailed from New York to Falmouth. Franklin consulted Captain Timothy Folger from Nantucket who told him about the effects of the Gulf Stream and marked its extent and velocity on a

chart. He also explained that its characteristics were well-understood by New England whalers who found good hunting along its edges, but that many European and British captains appeared ignorent of its path and were sometimes observed sailing backwards, unaware that they were being carried in reverse by the strong current. The chart shown here was probably issued about 1778 in support of the packet boat service initiated between New York and Lorient, France.

[*Chart of the eastern Mediterranean*] From: Marco Francesco Gisolfo, [PORTOLAN ATLAS.] Genoa, [ca. 1565].

Wind directions were important not only for sailing, but also as an indicator of direction. In the Mediterranean for instance, winds were constant according to the season. The gold "rose" at the lower left of this portolan chart is labeled for wind directions, not compass points—clock-wise: tramontana, graeco, levante, siroco, ostro, garbin, ponente, and maistro.

21.

[*Clouds*] In: Ralph Bohun, A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORIGINE AND PROPERTIES OF WIND. Oxford, 1671.

Bohun stated that his intention was to compare the observations of seamen with the writings of the philosophers in order "to arrive at a more perfect History of Winds." Nonetheless, he forced observed nature into traditional categories. The oblique motion of the winds he ascribed to various causes, among which were the energy of angels, the influx of divine power, and the breathing of the earth. In conclusion he stated that "the causes of the Winds are various." But he did suggest the systematic collection of information about winds in order to assist navigation, a project that was brought to fruition by Matthew Fontaine Maury in the nineteenth century.

22.

A view of the general & coasting Trade-Winds in the Atlantick & Indian Oceans. In: William Dampier, A COLLECTION OF VOYAGES, v. 2. London, 1729.

23.

Representation du cours ordinaire des vents de traverse qui regnent sur les Cotes dans la grande Mer du Sud. In: William Dampier, SUITE DU VOYAGE AUTOUR DU MONDE, v.2. Amsterdam, 1701.

William Dampier is best remembered as a buccaneer who circumnavigated the globe in the course of his adventures. But on his voyages he also took careful note of geographical data and information about winds, tides, and currents. An effective writer as well, his treatise on winds remains authoritative today. Dampier's practical experience combined with the theoretical works of Isaac Vossius (No. 18) and Edmond Halley provided the general patterns for oceanic wind systems that appeared on many charts and globes after 1700.

IV. Longitude

The problem of determining longitude—the number of degrees east or west of an arbitrary north/south line on the earth's surface, called a meridian—frustrated mariners and scientists until the middle of the eighteenth century. Samuel Champlain recorded his conviction that God did not intend that a man should be able to determine longitude at sea, while Sebastian Cabot confided on his deathbead that he had acquired that knowledge by divine revelation but was not permitted to share it. As early as 1598 Philip II of Spain offered a cash reward to the discoverer of a method for determining longitude, and in 1714 (after a series of maritime disasters) Great Britain offered a L20,000 prize for the solution.

A time-based theory had been proposed by the mathematician Gemma Frisius in 1590, and cartographers were aware that in principle any fast moving astronomical body could be used as the basis for timekeeping provided that its motion could be predicted and observed. The moon and the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites were used for this pur-

pose, but calculations were complicated and not always successful. It was not until 1761 that the English clockmaker John Harrrison developed a timepiece—clock "No. 4"—that kept accurate enough time on a sea voyage to determine longitude with an error of less than one geographical mile. Eleven years later, after the intercession of King George III, Harrison finally received his prize. Captain James Cook carried versions of Harrison's chronometer on his second (1772-1775) and third (1776-1780) voyages; the charts that he made were the first in the history of exploration to be based upon relatively accurate longitude observations.

24.

[Bradock Mead, alias] John Green, REMARKS, IN SUPPORT OF THE NEW CHART OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. London, 1753.

25.

Chart comprizing Greenland with the Countries and Islands about Baffin's and Hudson's Bay. Sheet II of [Bradock Mead, alias John Green], A CHART OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. [London,] 1753.

As attempts were being made to solve the problem of finding longitude at sea, cartographers such as Bradock Mead (alias John Green as a result of troubles with the law in his native Ireland) focused on providing more accurate charts based upon the few coordinates of latitude and longitude that had been determined by observation. These he supplemented by wide-ranging research into printed and manuscript charts from as many sources as he could find. He explained his method and sources in his printed REMARKS as well as in the detailed notes on the face of his charts, sometimes haranguing and sometimes encouraging a dialogue with mariners and other chartmakers.

V. Magnetic Variation

It had long been noted by mariners that the compass did not point to true north and that this deviation was not the same from place to place, or even in one place from year to year. Beginning about 1500 some chartmakers began to note these differences, often by showing the compass needle pointing some degrees away from true north. In 1536 a map was displayed at a meeting of Spanish pilots in Seville that pointed out three locations where declination had been satisfactorily determined. However, it was not until Edmond Halley returned from his extensive scientific voyages in the South Atlantic in 1698-1699 that the world-wide pattern of magnetic variation was systematically illustrated on a published chart, and his chart of the North and South Atlantic (1701) was the first clear use of isogones (lines that connect points with the same magnetic variation). A year later he published the chart shown here, which extended the readings to the Indian Ocean. Halley had hoped that an understanding of variation would lead to a solution of the problem of determining longitude at sea, but in that he was unsuccessful.

26.

Edmond Halley, NOVA & ACCURATISSIMA TOTIUS TERRARUM ORBIS TABULA NAUTICA VARIATIONUM MAGNETICARUM INDEX JUXTA OBSERVATIONES ANNO. 1700. London, [ca. 1702].

VI. The Mercator Chart

The traditional plane chart treated the earth as if it were flat rather than as a curved surface flattened onto a plane—it was not drawn to a mathematical projection and took no account of the convergance of the meridians towards the poles. For short stretches of coast the method worked well enough, but when larger areas of the globe were covered the errors increased in such a degree as to make these charts all but useless. In 1569 the Dutch geographer Gerard Mercator published a world map on a new projection that overcame many of the problems of the plane chart and enabled a mariner to plot a course with a straight line, which had not been possible before. But despite its advantages, Mercator's projection was not readily adopted because the mathematics were so little understood. Even after the mathematician, Edward Wright, gave instructions for its construction, few cartographers attempted to use it for the small-area sectional maps that were employed in the course of daily business.

27.

Edward Wright, CERTAINE ERRORS IN NAVIGATION. London, 1599.

28.

Edward Wright, *[Map of the World, Western Hemisphere]*. In: Richard Hakluyt, PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION. London, 1598-1600.

In 1589, the English mathematician Edward Wright suffered through a passage to the Azores on a ship that had strayed far off her course because of the unreliability of the plane charts being used by the ship's captain and pilot. As a result, he set himself the task of improving the reliability of open-sea navigation, and in 1599 his calculations and revisions found their way into print in the pioneering work, CERTAINE ERRORS IN NAVIGATION. Especially important was the fact that Wright provided detailed instructions for the construction of charts using Mercator's projection, something that the Dutch geographer had left unexplained. A year later, Richard Hakluyt included in his influential work a world map drawn on the Mercator

projection from Wright's instructions, the first since Mercator's own world map had appeared thirty years before.

29.

Carta Secunda Generale del' America. Sir Robert Dudley, ARCANO DELL'MARE. Florence, 1646.

Sir Robert Dudley, son of Queen Elizabeth's lover, the Duke of Leicester, left England in 1605 to make his fortune in Florence, where he served as engineer to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. One of his projects was the production of a comprehensive sea atlas, the first edition of which was published in 1646. This was the first atlas to have all the charts drawn on the Mercator projection, and the inclusion of soundings, figures for magnetic variation, and notes on currents made it the outstanding work of its day. However, it never became widely known and its influence on contemporary and later hydrographic charting was limited.

30.

[Carolina from Roanoke River to below Hilton Head].

From: THE BLATHWAYT ATLAS, assembled ca. 1683.

In 1696, over a century after the invention of the Mercator projection, an irritated Edmond Halley wrote to his friend, Samuel Pepys, decrying the primitive state of English navigation. On the subject of the legendary conservatism of mariners he bemoaned "how tenaciously or rather obstinately they resolve to make use of no other than the Common Plain Chart as if the earth were flat, when at the same time they all know and allow that they sail on a Globe, and they content themselves that those that knew no more have yet brought their ships home safe. Whence they conclude that any further Art, as they calle it, is superfluous."

Shown here is a plane chart made by a practitioner from the "Thames School" of chartmakers, who were active in London from the early seventeenth to the final quarter of the eighteenth century.

VII. Charting the Coastlines

The navigator plotted a ship's course out of sight of land on an ocean voyage, but at landfall the pilot had to know the coast he had encountered, for unknown shorelines with uncharted currents, shoals, and reefs, were more dangerous to a seaman than an unknown ocean. Over the course of centuries a body of information grew to help pilots with their task, consisting of views or "profiles" of the coast as seen from a ship at sea, written sailing directions, and coastal charts that showed soundings and navigational hazards. The form and content of these aids were fixed early and have changed very little in the past five centuries. Considering the seaborne nature of the European encounter with North and South America, it is plain that coastal charts had an important place in the "tool kit" of European expansion.

31.

QUESTA E UNA OPERA NECESSARIA A TUTTI LI NAVIGATIONE CHI VANO IN DIVERSE PARTE DEL MONDO. Venice: B. Rizo, 1490.

The *Portolano Rizo*, covering the Mediterranean Sea and the western coast of Europe, is the first book of sailing directions to be printed and the ancestor of the coast pilots and books of sailing directions still in use today. Developed from a long line of sailing directions dating from before the Christian era, it summarizes the experiences of many sailors on uncounted voyages.

32.

[Chart of the western Mediterranean.] From: Vesconte Maggiolo. [PORTOLAN ATLAS]. Naples, 1511.

Mediterranean books of sailing directions were often accompanied by charts that were designed to enable mariners to plan a voyage out of sight of land across what was essentially a tideless inland sea. All have sea areas drawn to scale to a remarkable degree of accuracy. Ports, anchorages, and headlands are identified along the coastline, while the more decorative "presentation copies" (such as the one shown here) are often embellished with landscape scenes and views of important cities.

33.

Nicolas Nicolay, sieur d'Arfeuille. LA NAVIGATION DU ROY D'ESCOSSE IACQUES CINQUIESME DU NOM, AUTOUR DE SON ROYAUME. Paris, 1583.

Sailors in northern waters, however, operated in a different environment of poor visibility, strong tides, and unreliable weather. For this reason they were slower to adopt the scale chart and relied primarily on pilot books that contained detailed written information for the coastal navigator, such as distances between prominent points of land, dangers to be avoided, and times and strength of the tides. They often included woodcut outlines that showed the shape of headlands and shore features. This pilot book describes the coast of Scotland.

34.

[Guadaloupe] and *[Martinique.]* Benedetto Bordone. LIBRO DI BENEDETTO BORDONE NEL QUAL SI RAGIONA DA TUTTE L'ISOLE DEL MONDO. Venice, 1528.

Bordone attempted to provide a sense of the geographical character of the islands in his *isolario* by filling the usually empty interiors with depictions of landscape characteristic of each place. But that was a far cry from the level of detail called for by the Englishman, William Bourne, in 1575. Scornful of the decorations that typically filled the empty spaces on charts, Bourne advocated the use those areas for the display of coastal views: "There is nothing more needful and necessary for seamen than this, to know the land when he seeth it, and there is no better way to make him remember it than to have notes on how the land doth rise on every side."

35.

The Sea Coastes of England betweene the Isle of Wight & Dover. Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer. THE MARINERS MIRROUR. London, 1588.

Waghenaer's *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt,* published in Leiden in 1584, brought coastal charts, views, and sailing directions together in a single volume for the first time. Although it was too costly for ordinary seamen, the worth

of this new approach was recognized immediately and four years later an unauthorized or "pirated" English edition was published in London. Thereafter, English sea atlases were commonly called "waggoners."

36.

THE ENGLISH PILOT. THE FOURTH BOOK. London, 1732.

English contributions to hydrographic publication lagged behind the Dutch until the late seventeenth century. The ENGLISH PILOT, published in four books covering different parts of the world, was the earliest of the commercial sea atlases. It was used regularly by the Royal Navy and the merchant marine until the Admiralty was established in 1795. It follows the "waggoner" format—charts supplemented by coastal views (here along the top edge), with sailing directions on the following page.

37.

A chart of the South Cape of New Holland. In: Benjamin Page, Jr., JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO CANTON AND

RETURN BY WAY OF AUSTRALIA, 1798-1799. Manuscript.

This is the journal of the maiden voyage of the Brown & Ives Ship *Ann and Hope* kept by the son of the ship's Master, Benjamin Page. The *Ann and Hope* was one of the first American vessels to trade with Australia, and Benjamin Jr. has drawn charts of the little-known coast to supplement his journal entries. In the age-old tradition of mariners he has especially focused his attention on providing views and profiles of the coastline and its headlands.

38.

Chart of the Coast of America from George's Bank to Rhode Island including Nantucket Shoals &c. from the latest Surveys. From: Matthew Clark, [THE AMERICAN PILOT.] Boston, 1790.

American seamen were well-served by the navigational information from personal observation that they recorded in their log books and journals. Until the end of the eighteenth century American seamen were dependent upon the fourth book of the ENGLISH PILOT for printed

charts and sailing directions of the coasts of North America and the West Indies, where so much trade activity was directed. In 1790 Matthew Clark of Boston, an auctioneer by trade, met this need with his AMERICAN PILOT, an unassuming looking production that was immediately copied and regularly re-issued in edition after edition. Clark's maps were based upon British models, and there was barely one page of sailing directions for the entire coast of North America and the Caribbean, but his chart of the hazards of the Nantucket shoals was an original, and valuable, American contribution.

II. Water Roads to the Interior

Europeans were always on the lookout for navigable water to provide access to the interior, and the charts they drew of American rivers and bays were, in effect, "road maps" to places it might have been difficult or impossible to reach by land.

The manuscript map of Surinam (No. 39) shows estates following the course of the rivers, and it is plain that without the river the interior of that tropical colony would have been all but inaccessible.

The Saint Lawrence River (No. 40) allowed French explorers to penetrate to the middle of the North American continent well before any land road had been developed to support the westward movement of European adventurers and settlers.

The manuscript map of Maryland (No. 41) focuses upon the Chesapeake Bay, which made scattered settlements accessible enough to ships so that planters did not have to bring their crops to central markets, incidentally hindering the development of cities in tidewater Virginia and Maryland.

The first printed map of Rhode Island (No. 41*) is actually a chart of Narragansett Bay, which underlines the colonial focus on the water for daily transportation and mercantile activity. The Rhode Island hinterland did not become commercially viable until the invention of the steam engine brought the industrial revolution to the rivers and streams of rural New England in the early nineteenth century.

* Because of the large size of the Blaskowitz chart of Narragansett Bay (1777), we have used for display a reduced French version published in 1780.

39.

[SURINAM AND COMMEWIJNE RIVERS. 1667 or later.] Manuscript.

40.

LE CANADA FAICT PAR LE SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN. Paris, [ca. 1669].

41.

MARYLAND. CA. 1677.] Manuscript.

42.

Charles Blaskowitz, PLAN DE LA BAIE DE NARRAGANSETT DANS LA NOUVELLE ANGLETERRE. [Paris,] 1780.



Simón Bolívar and the Revolutions for Independence in the Americas

AN EXHIBITION at the John Carter Brown Library, May 11, 1995, occasioned by the gift to the Library from Maury A. Bromsen of twenty-one manuscripts by and pertaining to Bolívar. Prepared by the staff of the Library, with the assistance of Maury A. Bromsen and Gabriel A. Najera, M.D. The Library gratefully acknowledges the loan of seven engraved portraits of Bolívar from the collection of Dr. Bromsen.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ago the historian R. R. Palmer published a book entitled The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800. All of Atlantic civilization, Palmer said, "was swept in the last four decades of the eighteenth century by a single revolutionary movement," which was "against the possession of government . . . by any established, privileged, closed, or self-recruiting groups of men." This movement "denied that any person could exercise coercive authority simply by his own right, or by right of his status, or by right of 'history.'"

Palmer brought his study to a close with the year 1800, and he never extended his synthesis to the republican revolutions for independence in Spanish America. He was not unaware, however, of this nineteenth century continuation of the political upheavals of the eighteenth century, and of the effects upon the entire Western Hemisphere of the revolution of the thirteen British colonies in North America of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, and the revolution in Haiti of 1791.

"At Quebec in 1797," Palmer wrote, attempting to illustrate the breadth of the movement, "a man was hanged, drawn, and quartered as a dangerous revolutionary. At Quito, in what is now Ecuador, the librarian of the public library was tortured and imprisoned for political agitation. A re-

publican conspiracy was discovered in Bahia, in Brazil, in 1798. A Negro at Buenos Aires testified that Frenchmen in the city were plotting to liberate slaves in an uprising against the Spanish crown. In the High Andes, at the old silver town of Potosí, far from foreign influences on the coasts, the governor was horrified to discover men who toasted liberty and drank to France."

This exhibition has a simple rationale. It is designed, first of all, to focus on the Library's newly acquired manuscripts relating to the life and achievements of the famous "Liberator" of vast areas of South America, Simón Bolívar, and second, by means of the display of a few dozen additional works from the Library's collection, to put the Bolivarian revolution into the broad context of the age of the democratic revolution, during which British, Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies in the New World became self-governing republics or, in the case of Brazil, a constitutional monarchy.

In the course of the past century, historians have put forth many explanations for the revolutions for independence in Latin America. One list, by Francisco J. Encina, includes the following: 1) The differences and antipathy between European Spanish (the so-called *peninsulares*) and those born in America (the *criollos* or creoles); 2) Incipient creole nationalism, based upon love of their homelands; 3) The expulsion of the Jesuits; 4) The North American example; 5) English desire to undermine Spanish power; 6) Eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophy; 7) The consequences of the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian peninsula. A number of these elements are touched on in this exhibition.

As for the astonishing scope of the Spanish American revolutions, we cannot do better than to quote John Lynch's The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826, 2nd ed. (New York, 1986), a work from which we have borrowed freely in this exhibition and gratefully acknowledge: "When, in 1808, Spain collapsed under the onslaught of Napoleon, she ruled an empire stretching from California to Cape Horn, from the mouth of the Orinoco to the shores of the Pacific, the site of four viceroyalties, the home of seventeen million people. Fifteen years later she retained only Cuba and Puerto Rico."

The countries of the Western Hemisphere celebrate their independence from European powers on the dates listed below. As in the case of the United States, the date when independence is claimed or later celebrated is rarely the date when it is in fact won militarily; and actual diplomatic recognition of independence by the former colonial "owner" may come still later. The United States declared independence in 1776; independence was not secured militarily until the victory at Yorktown on October 18, 1781. British recognition of the United States was granted on September 3, 1783. Similar patterns applied to the countries of Spanish America. The independence of Mexico was not recognized by Spain until 1836.

The United States of America	July 4, 1776
Haiti	January 1, 1804
Ecuador	August 10, 1809
Argentina	May 25, 1810
Colombia	July 20, 1810
Mexico	September 16, 1810
Chile	September 18, 1810
Paraguay	May 15, 1811
Venezuela	July 5, 1811
Peru	July 28, 1811
Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua	September 21, 1821
Brazil	September 7, 1822
Bolivia	August 6, 1825
Uruguay	August 25, 1828

I. THE BOURBON REFORMS

Prior to the so-called "Bourbon Reforms" of the empire, which began in the second half of the eighteenth century, Spain's New World colonies enjoyed a considerable degree of de facto autonomy, a looseness of economic and political control that had evolved over the course of a century. Historians of the British colonies in North America, quoting Edmund Burke, speak of a long period of "salutary neglect" in London's

administration prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years War. Before the Bourbon reforms there was a comparable salutary neglect by Spain, which changed dramatically after 1763.

So extensive were these changes that the historian John Lynch refers to "the second conquest of America" by Charles III of Spain (1759-1788), which included a new bureaucratic apparatus for imperial administration, the deliberate undermining of Church power (including the expulsion of the Jesuits from America in 1767), and the imposition of extensive economic regulation in the interest of increasing revenues in the colonies for the benefit of the mother country.

Economic regulation is another area in which the experience of British colonials and Spanish colonials was similar and which precipitated American resistance. There were diverse and conflicting economic interests throughout America, and not everyone was for freedom of trade, but whatever the solution to economic problems was to be, Americans wanted their interests to be foremost, not those of the mother country.

Charles III also demanded social reform, attending in particular to the disadvantages suffered by Indians, mestizos, and *pardos* (i.e., free Blacks). Attempts to alter social structure, however, no matter how worthy, nearly always antagonize some segments of the population that prefer the status quo.

Social and Economic Reform

*Spain. *Real cedula despachada en 11 de septiembre de 1767 . . . á favor de los Indios americanos* (Lima: Imprenta Real, 1767).

*New Spain. *El B. Frey D. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua . . . virrey, gobernador y capital general de esta Nueva España . . .* ([Mexico, 1774]).

*Pedro José de Zárate Navia y Bolaños, marqués de Montemira. *La de Lima defiende sus proprios de los cargos, que la hace la Caxa General de Censos de Indios* (Lima: Niños Expósitos, 1789).

Favoritism towards Peninsular Spaniards

A characteristic of the "second conquest" of the late eighteenth century was an imperial policy that clearly gave privileges and advantages to Spanish-born colonists (*peninsulares*) over American-born inhabitants (*criollos*). "There was an obvious difference," Lynch writes, "between the first conquest and the second. The first was the conquest of the Indians; the second sought to control the creoles." According to the historian Jay Kinsbruner, of the 266 appointments to Spanish American *audiencias* (i.e., administrative courts) made by the crown between 1751 and 1808, creoles received 62 (23.7 percent) and peninsulars 200 (76.3).

*Alexander von Humboldt. *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris: F. Schoell, [1808-1812]).

Expulsion of the Jesuits

"An essential theme of Bourbon policy," Lynch writes, "was opposition to corporate bodies enjoying special status and privilege." The Church was the greatest of all such bodies in wealth and power. The abrupt expulsion of the Jesuits from America in 1767, who were foremost in influence and wealth in the colonies, was an expression of this policy. Some 2,500 priests were affected, many of them creoles, who thus were driven from their homelands as well as their missions. From the point of view of Americans, the expulsion served only imperial interests, in disregard of the benefits to America from the Jesuits' presence, especially in education.

*Manuel de Amat y Junient, viceroy of Peru. *Por quanto la enagenacion y venta de bienes que fueron de los regulares de la Compañia de Jesus . . .* ([Lima, 1769]).

*Francesco Saviero Clavigero. *Storia antica del Messico* (Cesena: Gregorio Biasini, 1780).

II. THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

A number of the factors that caused the break between the British colonies in North America and England were factors also in the independence movements in most of the Spanish colonies: resentment against mercantilist or centralized economic controls; resentment against the favoritism and privileges conferred upon those born in the mother country as opposed to native-born elites; the problem of suitable laws being instituted and jurisdiction exercised from 3,000 miles away; high taxes to cover the expenses of the empire; Enlightenment political ideals that increasingly made the explicit consent of the governed the only legitimate basis of rule.

*George Washington. *Farewel* [sic] *address to the people of the United States on his resignation of the presidency* . . . (Glasgow: Cameron & Murdoch, [1796]).

*Thomas Paine. *La independencia de la Costa Firme justificada por Thomas Paine treinta años há*, trans. Manuel Garcia de Sena (Philadelphia: T.Y.J. Palmer, 1811).

*Thomas Paine. *Reflecciones politicas escritas bajo el titulo de Instinto comun por el ciudadano Tomas Paine* (Lima: La Imprenta de Rio, 1821).

III. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution had both an ideological and a practical effect on the revolutions for independence in Ibero-America. The ideological effect of the ringing principles of the Revolution that called for the elimination of established hierarchies and special privileges based on blood and birth are more well known than the practical effect. With regard to the latter, it was the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1807-1808 that directly precipitated the movements for independence in America. The Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, under pressure from France abandoned the throne. Napoleon made his brother Joseph the new king. The American colonies considered rule by Napoleon or his appointees

in Spain as entirely unacceptable. With a vacuum in imperial authority, the colonies temporarily became de facto independent of rule from Europe. To fill the vacuum, juntas, or committees, made up of leaders in Spain, assumed control in the name of the absent king. Ruling juntas also appeared in the New World, providing a taste of autonomy that was to have a lasting effect.

**Compendio historico de la revolucion francesa, desde el año de 1789 hasta el de 1802.* Trans. from the French by Guillermo del Rio (Lima: Niños Expósitos, 1805).

**Noticias de Europa. Proclama del Emperador Napoleon. Diciembre 2 de 1806* (Buenos Aires: Niños Expósitos, 1807).

*Spain. *Edicto. Don Fernando Septimo rey de España y de las Indias, en su nombre la Junta Suprema de Gobierno en ambas* (Buenos Aires: Niños Expósitos, 1808).

**Sentimientos de un americano español dirigidos á sus compatriotas* (Lima: Niños Expositos, 1808).

*Spain. *Constitucion politica de la monarquía española. Promulgado en Cádiz á 19 de marzo de 1812* (Lima: Imprenta de los Huerfanos, [1812]).

IV. THE REVOLUTION IN HAITI

The slave revolution in Haiti, which broke out in 1791, was profoundly important to all revolutionary movements in the Americas. To some degree, it was the rising of the black slaves in Haiti that determined the difference between the implementation of liberal, even radical, Enlightenment principles in the United States between 1776 and 1787, and the much greater caution exercised by revolutionary leaders in Latin America twenty years later.

The revolution in Haiti frightened white revolutionary leadership throughout the Americas into the realization that the preaching of lib-

erty and equality could lead to slave rebellion and black dominance in some regions. If the founding of an independent United States had taken place after the Haitian revolution, rather than twenty-five years before it, it is unlikely that with the very large slave populations in the area from Georgia to Virginia, the revolution could have taken the shape it did beginning in 1775. In other words, in South America, the revolution for independence was more complicated by the politics of race than it was even in the United States.

*Dubroca. *La vie de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris: Chez Dubroca, 1802).

*Jean, publisher. *Toussaint Louverture chef des noirs insurgés de Saint Domingue* (Paris: Chez Jean, [ca. 1800]).

*Haiti. *Royaume d'Hayti. Déclaration du Roi* (Cap-Henry: P. Roux, [1816]).

V. REVOLUTION IN THE RIO DE LA PLATA

The revolutions for independence "swept across the subcontinent in two great movements. The southern revolution gained a slight lead in time, advancing from the Río de la Plata, across the Andes to the Pacific. The northern revolution, more closely harassed by Spain, veered from Venezuela to New Granada and back to its birthplace. Both converged on Peru, the fortress of Spain in America. And in the north, Mexican insurgency followed a course of its own — frustrated social revolution, prolonged counter-revolution, and successful conservative revolution — demonstrating in microcosm the essential character of Spanish American independence." (37)

In 1806, when the British briefly occupied and looted Buenos Aires, the Spanish viceroy, the Marquis of Sobremonte, fled the city. A successful resistance to the occupation was accomplished by a popular, creole army under the leadership of a French soldier in the Spanish service, Santiago Liniers. The event gave the creoles new confidence, which was all the more confirmed when a British counterattack led by General Whitelocke was also repelled in a humiliating defeat.

"The victory of the citizens of Buenos Aires over the English stirred the entire continent with a new awareness of its native strength," one historian has written. Latin Americans "had seen the North Americans, then the French revolutionists wage a successful fight against great odds, but neither of these foreign struggles gave them the confidence which came out of their own successful defence of Buenos Aires."

It was only shortly after this sequence of stunning events in Argentina that the imperial power in Madrid collapsed completely under Napoleonic pressure.

*Benito María de Moxó y de Francoli. *Oficio de enhorabuena. que ha pasado el Ilmo. señor arzobispo de la Plata al Excmo. Sr. gobernador y capitan general de las provincias del Río de la Plata con motivo de la gloriosa defensa executada el dia 5 del pasado julio* ([Buenos Aires, 1807]).

*Río de la Plata (Viceroyalty). *Proclama el virrey de estas provincias a los habitantes de toda la Campaña de la Vanda Oriental del Rio de la Plata.* ([Montevideo, 1811]).

*United Provinces in South America. *Proclama. Ciudadanos armados de la Campaña* (Buenos Aires: Niños Expósitos, 1816).

*Buenos Aires (Argentina: Province). *Convencion hecha y concluida entre los gobernadores . . . de la provincia de Buenos Ayres, de la de Santa Fe . . . y el de Entre Rios . . . el dia 23 de febrero . . . 1820, con el fin de poner término á la guerra suscitada entre dichas provincias* . . . (Buenos Aires: Alvarez, [1820]).

VI. CHILE

With the restoration of the Spanish monarchy under Ferdinand in 1814 following the defeat of Napoleon, the Spanish were able to commit new strength to its counter-revolution in America. Between 1814 and 1816 imperial forces struck hard, and everywhere the revolution was in retreat. The revolutionary army in Chile under Bernardo O'Higgins and José Miguel Carrera was defeated at Rancagua (2 Oct. 1814), and the two leaders fled across the Andes to Mendoza.

But in 1814, also, San Martín was appointed commander of the forces of the United Provinces, with headquarters in Mendoza, where he began to assemble the "Army of the Andes." In February 1816, San Martín was joined in Argentina by O'Higgins, and the two liberators set out to conquer Peru by way of Chile, one of the greatest strategic decisions in all military history.

In an extraordinary feat of generalship, San Martín's troops, some 4,500 strong plus horses and artillery, crossed the Andes in 1817 through mountain passes two miles above sea level and defeated the royalists at the base of Mt. Chacabuco on February 12. It is perhaps not often enough mentioned that former black slaves made up nearly a third of San Martín's army of the Andes and were a large part, also, of Sucre's army which completed the liberation of Peru at Ayacucho.

**Aurora de Chile, periodico ministerial, y politico* (Santiago de Chile: En la imprenta de este Superior Gobierno, 1812-1813).

*Chile. *Proclamas del supremo director de Chile, y del general San Martin* ([Buenos Aires? 1818?]).

*José de San Martín. *Nuevo parte del exmo. Sr. capitan general de los Andes al gobierno supremo.* ([Buenos Aires]: Niños Expositos, [1818]).

**Jornada de Maipo.* (Buenos Aires: Niños Expósitos, 1818).

*Chile. *Constitucion política del estado de Chile. Promulgada el 23 de octubre de 1822* ([Santiago]: Imprenta del Estado, [1822]). *Gift of Paul William Garber.*

*José de San Martín. *Proclama a los habitantes del estado de Chile* ([Santiago, 1820]).

VII. PERU AND BOLIVIA

*Joseph Skinner. *The present state of Peru . . . drawn from original and authentic documents* (London: For Richard Phillips, 1805).

*Peru (Viceroyalty). *D. José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa . . . Por quanto se me ha comunicado la órden de la regencia del reyno . . .* ([Lima, 1814]).

*Peru (Viceroyalty). *Don Joaquin de la Pezuela y Sanchez . . . Este gobierno ha instruido al público sin misterio ni reserva.* ([Lima, 1820]).

*Eduardo Carrasco. *Calendario y guia de forasteros. De Lima para el ano de 1826* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado por J. Gonzalez, [1825]).

*Colombia (Republic). *Proyecto de constitucion para la republica de Bolivia y discurso del Libertador* (Lima: Imprenta Republicana Administrada, 1826).

VIII. ECUADOR

The future Ecuador included the textile manufacturing center of Quito, which was badly hurt by Spanish imperial policy that discouraged colonial industries. "The inflexibility of Spanish economic policy was increasingly resented, and as Spain endeavoured to force yet greater surpluses from the colony, resentment grew into rebellion." (232). In August 1809 a group of creoles, taking advantage of the uncertainty of power in Spain, overthrew the imperial regime and created a ruling junta. Abascal, the viceroy in Lima, suppressed this rebellion so cruelly that the result was an intensification of independence sentiment. On 15 February 1812, a revolutionary congress promulgated a Constitution of the Free State of Quito. Once more imperial forces moved in and pacified the country, and Ecuador was not again liberated until 1820.

*Luis Quixano. *Discurso sobre la insurreccion de America* (Lima: Imprenta de los Huérfanos, 1813).

IX. VENEZUELA and COLOMBIA

In Venezuela as in other countries in Ibero-America, the social structure vastly complicated revolutionary politics. In 1800, whites were 25 percent of the population, mostly creoles. The mass of people consisted of blacks and "pardos" (mulattos or free colored people in general), who formed over 60 percent of the whole. Fifteen percent of the total population of nearly 800,000 were black slaves. The natural fear of the creole landed aristocracy, especially after the Haitian revolution, was that political revolution would engender social revolution and the loss of their political power. The creoles generally opposed Bourbon efforts to offer more opportunities to the racially-mixed population through education, participation in the militia, and the sale of certificates of "whiteness." In 1795 a major slave uprising occurred in the province of Coro, a sugar-refining district, inspired by French revolutionary ideas. As elsewhere, too, the leading Venezuelans resented Spanish control of overseas trade, organized in the interest of Spain rather than the colonies.

Inevitably, as Spanish power weakened, the Venezuelan creoles realized that their best hope to retain control of their country was to separate from Spain. A junta was formed in 1810. It represented "the creole ruling class, but . . . was divided between conservatives and radicals, between autonomists who wanted home rule under the Spanish crown and independists who demanded an absolute break with Spain." (196) A national congress met in 1811. With prodding from both Franciso de Miranda and Bolívar, independence was declared on 5 July 1811, and the first Venezuelan republic was born. It lasted for one year.

*Venezuela. *Constitucion federal, para los estados de Venezuela* (Caracas: Juan Baillio, 1812).

*Venezuela. *Manifiesto que hace el secretario del estado, C. Antonio Muños Tébar por órden de S.E. el Libertador de Venezuela* (Caracas: Juan Baillio, 1814).

**Opinion de un colombiano sobre la renuncia del jeneral Bolivar Libertador presidente de Colombia* (Bogota: Salazar por V. Martinez, 1827).

*Colombia (Republic). *Reglamento Francisco de Paula Santander.* ([Bogota, 1823]).

**Al libertador de Colombia y del Peru. Cancion* (Lima: J. Gonzalez, 1824).

X. BOLIVAR

Bolívar (24 July 1783 - 17 December 1830), like George Washington, was a member of the slave-owning colonial aristocracy of his country. He came from a rich and powerful family, with investments in agriculture, ranching, and sugar mills. Along with many other talented creoles (that is, American-born colonists) throughout the Western Hemisphere, he resented the ceilings and limitations that European government from overseas placed on advancement by those who were not themselves European.

Profoundly influenced by the ideas of the French Enlightenment, Bolívar was a rare instance of the intellectual who was also a man of action. He was a firm believer in legal equality for all men, regardless of class or color. He was opposed to slavery and freed his own slaves in 1821. He saw that the freedom of America from Spanish control required the complete conquest of the royalists, lest a base remain on the continent from which a counter-revolution could be launched.

Without question the greatest figure in the revolutions for independence in Spanish America, both in eloquence and in military leadership, he died in disillusionment with the results of his heroic efforts. Everywhere in America he saw chaos and political instability. Few of his plans for social, economic, and political reform were realized. Only a month before he died he wrote to a friend: "America is ungovernable. Those who serve the revolution plow the sea."

1. [22] Bolívar, Simón. 1783-1830. As Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army in Venezuela. Autograph Note Signed ("Bolívar"), 9 lines in the left margin of a letter addressed to him from Roman Machado, no place, no date (July 1818), 1 1/2 pages folio. Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar), July 21, 1818. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

2. [23] Bolívar, Simón. As Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army. Letter signed in full, 1 page folio, papered seal. Angostura, July 22, 1818. Counter-signed by Pedro Briceño Méndez, Secretary of State of Venezuela. "To all to whom this may be presented." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

3. [24] Santander, Francisco de Paula. 1792-1840. As Vice-President of Colombia (1821-1828). He later was the first President of New Granada (1832-1837). Letter Signed (with a rubric), 1 1/2 pages folio. Bogota, July 29, 1820. To General Manuel Valdéz at Popayán. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

4. [25] Páez, José Antonio. 1790-1873. As General-in-Chief of the Army in Venezuela and its *de facto* political leader during the absences of Bolívar in New Granada. He was later President (and Dictator) of the Republic of Venezuela (1830-1846). Letter Signed, 2 1/2 pages 4to., integral address-leaf. Achaguas (Venezuela), October 27, 1820. To Colonel J. [P.] Blosset, Commander of the British Legion and International Brigade. Together with Blosset's letter to Páez. Achaguas, September 16, 1820, 2 pages, integral address-leaf. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

5. [26] Sucre, Antonio José de. 1795-1830. As Bolívar's Division General in Ecuador. He was later elevated to Grand Marshal of Ayacucho (1825) and a year later became the first President of Bolivia (1826-1828). Autograph Letter Signed ("Sucre"), 2 1/4 pages 8vo., integral address-leaf. Guayaquil, May 12, 1821. To Citizen José Nuñez at Caracas. Wax seal tear and ink erosions repaired. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

6. [27] Bolívar, Simón. As first President of the Republic of [Gran] Colombia, established at Cúcuta, 1821. Autograph Letter Signed ("Bolívar"), 1 page, 4to, integral address-leaf, remnant of wax seal, docketed. Bogota, October 26, 1821. To Citizen C.J. Bwoekle (?). *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

7. [28] Aymerich, Melchor. 1754-1834. As Captain General of the Kingdom of Quito. He had earlier served as Spain's Governor of Popayán, in New Granada. Letter Signed ("Aymerich"), 1 page folio, on printed official stationery, "Capitanía General del Reyno." No. 1. Muchisa (Ecuador), April 17, 1822. To Commanding General Basilio García. Marked "A Copy." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

8. [29] Sucre, Antonio José de. As Division General in charge of the liberation of Ecuador. Letter Signed ("A de Sucre"), 1 page 8vo. Ríobamba, April 26, 1822. To General Simón Bolívar, "In the North." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

9. [30] Bolívar, Simón. As President of Colombia and Dictator of Peru. Document Signed in full, 1 page oblong folio. Printed form captioned "República del Perú," completed in manuscript, with a woodcut of the coat-of-arms of Peru at the head. Lima, January 19, 1825. To Division General Antonio José de Sucre. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

10. [31] Sucre, Antonio José de. As General-in-Chief of the Liberating Armies in Upper Peru (shortly to become Bolivia). Letter Signed ("A. de Sucre"), 1 page 8vo., on "Ejército Libertador" stationery. General Headquarters, Potosi, April 9, 1825. To the General Prefect of the Department of Puno. On the verso is a later autograph manuscript note of presentation from the President of Peru, Dr. Jorge M. Corbacho, to the President of Bolivia, General Ismael Montes [y Montes], Lima, May 5, 1913. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

11. [32] Santander, Francisco de Paula. As Vice-President of [Gran] Colombia and Acting Chief Executive during Bolívar's absences in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (1821-1828). Document Signed, 2 pages folio, papered seal. Printed form captioned "República de Colombia," completed in manuscript. Counter-signed C[arlos] Soublette (*Jefe Superior* for the Department of Venezuela) and an attestation by a Treasury official with a later date. Bogota, July 23, 1825. To Division General Antonio José de Sucre. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

12. [33] Santander, Francisco de Paula. As Vice-President of [Gran] Colombia and Acting Chief Executive during Bolívar's absences in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (1821-1828). Document Signed, 2 pages 4to, papered seal. Printed form captioned "República de Colombia," completed in manuscript. Counter-signed by C[arlos] Soublette (*Jefe Superior* for the Department of Venezuela) and attestations, with later dates, by 8 other officials. Bogota, August 30, 1825. To First Sergeant José Martínez. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

13. [34] Bolívar, Simón. As President of Colombia, then organizing Bolivia. Document Signed in full, 1 page folio. Printed form captioned "Simón Bolívar Libertador Prsidente de la República de Colombia . . ." Counter-signed by J.S. Estenos. La Paz, September 4, 1825. To Lieutenant José Ant[onio] Espina. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

14. [35] Restrepo, J[osé] Manuel. 1781-1863. Secretary of the Interior of [Gran] Colombia and historian of the Revolution. Letter Signed, 2 pages 4to. On stationery captioned "República de Colombia. Secretaría de estado del despacho del Interior." Bogota, March 22, 1826. "To the General Secretary of His Excellency The Liberator of Colombia, of Peru, etc." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

15. [36] Santa Cruz, Andres. 1792?-1865. As Grand Marshal of the Liberating Army in Peru and Upper Peru (later Bolivia). He was later President of Bolivia (1829-1839) and of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839). Document Signed, 1 page folio. Printed form captioned "D. Andrés Santa Cruz, Gran Mariscal," completed in manuscript, engraved coat-of-arms of Peru at the top. Counter-signed by J.M. de Pando. Lima, September 1, 1826. To 1st Sergeant José Sánchez. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

16. [37] Iturbi, Francisco. Intimate Spanish friend of Bolívar and resident of Curaçao. Autograph Letter Signed, 1 page 8vo., integral address-leaf. Caracas, February 14, 1827. To "His Excellency Liberator President of Colombia [Simón Bolívar]." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

17. [38] Bolívar, Simón. As President of Colombia. Autograph Letter Signed ("Bolívar"), 2 pages 4to. Cartagena, July 11, 1827. To "The Honorable British Minister A[lexander] Cockburn." *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

18. [39] Bolívar, Simón. As President of Colombia. Autograph Letter Signed in full (a retained draft). Bogota, December 15, 1827. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

19. [40] Bolívar, Simón. As Dictator of Colombia. Letter Signed ("Bolívar"), 1 page 4to. Bogota, November 28, 1828. To General The Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

20. [41] [Sucre, Antonio José de.] Announcing his assassination. Gomez de la Torre, T[omas]. As Governor of the Province of Imbabura, Colombia. Letter Signed, 1 1/3 pages 4to. Ibarra, June 8, 1830 "to one in the morning of the 9." To the General Chief of the Administration of the State of the South. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

21. [42] [Bolívar, Simón]. Announcing his death. Martin J. de Francisco. As Executor of Bolívar's final will and testament. Official copy of a Letter Signed, 2 pages folio, on the stationery of the "República Boliviana. Ministerio de Estado de Despacho

de Relaciones Exteriores." January 2, 1831. To the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia. *Gift of Maury A. Bromsen.*

22. [2] Anonymous. English. Copper-plate engraving (stipple-and-line). 11 x 8 5/8 inches (image). On heavy artist's paper. Unsigned. A proof before lettering. [London, ca. 1819-1820]. *On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

23. [3] Last, Carel Christian Anthony de. 1808-1876. Dutch painter and lithographer. Lithograph after a drawing by Prieux. 13 x 10-7/16 inches, oval (overall size). Contemporary coloring. Legend: "Simon Bolivar/Chef suprème de la République de Venezuela et de la nouvelle Granade." Signed in the plate by the artist and the lithographer. [The Hague, ca. 1825-1828]. *On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

24. [4] Anonymous. French or Dutch (?) copper-plate engraving (line). 7 5/8 x 4 5/8 inches (overall size). Legend: "Simon Bolivar/Généralissime des Indépendans." Unsigned. [Paris (?) 1820-1825 (?)]. *On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

25. [5] Anonymous. French or Dutch (?) copper-plate engraving (line) similar to the preceding item. 6 3/8 x 4 1/16 inches (overall). Legend: "Simon Bolivar." The impression is darker and the kerchief is black. Unsigned. [Paris (?) 1820-1825 (?)]. *Unknown. On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

26. [6] Holl, W[illiam]. English engraver. 1807-1871. Copper-plate engraving. Signed in the plate "W. Holl." 10 3/8 x 6 3/8 inches (overall). Contemporary coloring. Legend: "Bolivar, From an engraving by M.N. Bate." London, Published by Charles Knight, no date (ca. 1823-1828). *Unknown. On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

27. [7] Holl, William. English engraver. 1807-1871. Copper-plate engraving similar to the preceding item. Uncolored. 10 1/4 x 7 inches (overall size). An added line in the legend reads: "Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Cited and reproduced in Alfredo Boulton, *El Rostro de Bolívar* (Milan, 1982), No. 12, pages 91-92. *On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

28. [17] Anonymous. French engraver. Steel-plate engraving. Unsigned. 7 3/4 x 5 3/8 inches (overall size). Legend: "Bolivar. Hommage au héroes des jeunes Républiques d'Amérique" [Paris, ca. 1825-1830]. *On loan from the collection of Maury A. Bromsen.*

XI. MEXICO

"The Mexican revolution," Lynch writes, "differed from those in South America in two vital respects: it began as a violent social protest from below; and Spain had more to lose in Mexico than anywhere else in America." Two-thirds of its imperial revenues came from Mexico.

At the end of the eighteenth century there was enormous population growth which was not matched by land reform. Great haciendas controlled agriculture, and the peasants did not own enough land to provide for their own food supply. Famine became common. Widespread rural banditry was symptomatic of resentment against "hacendados, monopolists, and speculators." Maize reached peak prices before revolution broke out in 1810. The lower clergy tended to be sympathetic to the suffering of the campesinos and critical of the vast inequities of wealth. The first act of the Mexican revolution was undertaken by a middle-aged rural priest from the province of Jalisco, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.

*Inquisition. Mexico. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia, en la ciudad de México . . .* ([Mexico, 1810]).

*New Spain. *Don Francisco Xavier Venegas de Saavedra. . . . Entre los infames medios de que se ha valido el pérfido Cura Hidalgo* [i.e., Manuel Hidalgo y Costilla], ([Mexico, 1811]).

*José Francisco Campomanes. *Guadalupanae. Virgini. Christiani. Populi. Honori . . .* (Mexico: P. de la Rosa, 1810).

*Carlos Maria de Bustamente. *Cuadro historico de la revolucion de la America Mejicana, carta primera, dedicada a la buena memoria del . . . José Maria Morélos* (Puebla: Gobierno Imperial, 1821).

*New Spain. *El virey de Nueva España Don Felix María Calleja, a sus bizarras tropas.* ([Mexico, 1814]).

*New Spain. *Don Felix Maria Calleja del Rey. . . .* ([Mexico, 1815]).

*Augustín de Itúrbide. *Mémoires autographes de don Augustin Iturbide, ex-empereur du Mexique.* Ed. M. J. Quin. Trans. from the English by J. T. Parisot (Paris: Charles Gosselin and Rossange Frères, 1824).

*José Francisco Campomanes. *Historia de la revolucion para la independencia Megicana* [sic] *en San Antonio Huatusco* (Jalapa: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1826).

XII. BRAZIL

"As in the British and Spanish American colonies," writes David Birmingham, author of a *Concise History of Portugal* (1993) "it was wealthy white settlers who wanted to eliminate the foreign apex of colonial society while at the same time retaining the rest of the hierarchy of order and privilege."

The American revolution of 1776 that created the United States had a significant influence on the Brazilian independence movement. However, the Haitian revolution scared off liberal Brazilians living in a slave society and fearful that revolution could unleash forces from below.

The transfer of the crown, of the center of government, to Brazil in 1807 made the possibility of independence much more real. The king, Dom Joao VI, opened Brazil to traders from all nations, which severely hurt the trading monopoly formerly held by Portugal. In effect, the Portuguese king, living in Brazil, turned against Portugal itself. In 1815 Brazil achieved complete equality with Portugal when it and Portugal became part of a single kingdom.

A Liberal revolution in Portugal in 1820 led to demands that the king, Joao VI, return to Portugal and establish a constitutional monarchy there. Brazilians assumed initially that they would be represented in this government. The differences between the mother country and Brazil were profound, however. The Portuguese national legislature, the Côrtes, for one thing, wished to reinstitute a monopoly of trade with Brazil, after twelve years of Brazil being open to free trade, especially with Britain. The Brazilian delegates in the Côrtes were outnumbered by Portuguese

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delegates 4 to 1. On September 7, 1822, the prince Dom Pedro, who had remained in Brazil after the king returned, proclaimed independence.

**Correio Braziliense ou armazem literario* (London: L. Thompson, 1817).

*Dominique Georges Fréderíc Pradt. *Des trois derniers mois de l'Amerique méridionale et du Brésil* (Paris: F. Bechet, 1817).

*Bahia (Brazil). *Carta que a Junta Provisional do Governo da provincia da Bahia, dirigio ao muito alto, e muito poderoso Rei Sr. D. João VI* (Lisbon: Typ. Rollandiana, 1821).

*Heliodoro Jacinto de Arujo Carneiro. *Brasil e Portugal ou reflecçoes sobre o estado actual do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Diario, 1822).

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